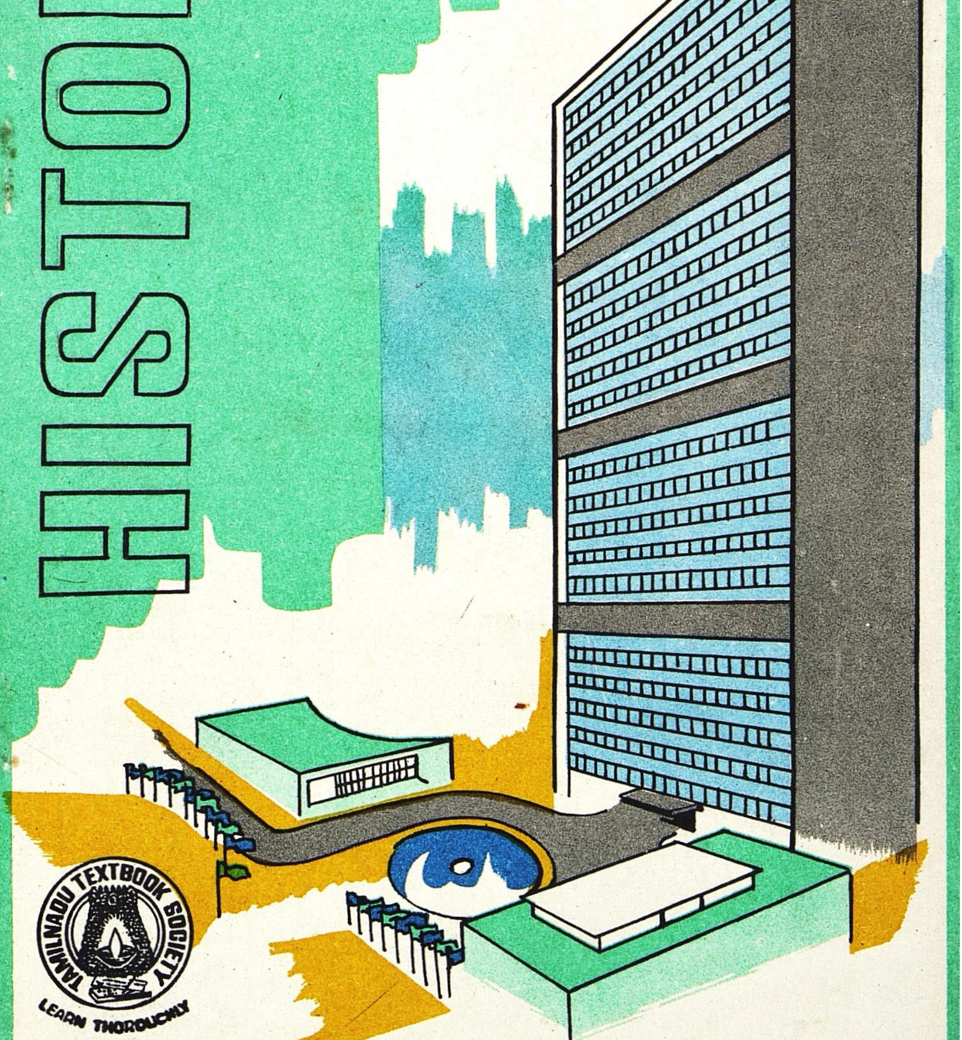
HISTORY

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PART-B

Chapter XXII

Asian Nationalism

The Twentieth century, has witnessed the birth of many independent nations in Asia and Africa. Soon after the end of the Second World War, the nationalist movements in the Middle East and the Far East gathered momentum. The first great country in Asia to achieve independence during this era was India (1947). It was followed in quick succession by the liberation of countries in South East Asia like Viet Nam from the French (1949), Indonesia from the Dutch (1949) and Burma and Ceylon from the British (1948). In the Middle East, Syria and Lebanon became free from French rule (1946). Jordon and Palestine became free from British rule (1946 and 1948) respectively. Jewish Nationalism asserted itself and a new Israel State was created in 1948.

Indian Nationalism

Causes for the Rise of Nationalism in India

Nationalism is a sentiment of Unity among a set of people occupying a particular territory, born out of common factors such as language, religion, polity, economy and administration system. In India such a sentiment of unity arose owing to many factors. The English language through which education was imparted to the people, served as a great unifying force. It became the lingua franca of the intellectuals in India. People from North, South, East and West India could exchange ideas think, speak and act together through that language.

Further the western system of education inspired among the educated class, a love for freedom and self government. They imbibed ideas of democracy and nationalism by studying the work of liberal thinkers such as Burke, Macaulay, Bentham, Mill and Rousseau. In the meantime, the communication facilities, the common administration system, common law and law courts created an atmosphere in which the feeling of unity would be generated.

At the same time patriotic leaders such as Rajaram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayananda Saraswathy and Swami Vivekananda created in the Indian mind a desire for cultural as well as political freedom. Indians were inspired by them to feel proud of their ancient culture and instigated them to preserve it against foreign domination.

The British Government in India by its various acts of omission and commission indirectly contributed to the rise of Nationalism. They antagonised the educated Indians by refusing them admission into Indian Civil Service. Surendra Nath Banerjee, who was thus denied of entry into Civil Service, in spite of his passing the I. C. S. Examination, organised the India Association in Calcutta in 1876, to fight for the rights of Indians. This association soon became the centre of all India National Movement. The economic policy of the British was quite inimical to Indian traders and business men. They impeded the growth of the indigenous industry as well as trade for promoting their benefit.

The repressive policy of the British had its reaction. The Ilbert Bill controversy which stressed European predominance was hated by all Indians. The Arms Act which prohibited Indians from bearing arms and the Press Act which curtailed freedom of the Press excited opposition. These oppressive restric tions inspired them to act unitedly against the alien rule.

Rise of the Indian National Congress - 1885

In 1885, Allan Octavian Hume, a retired civil servant, founded the Indian National Congress. As an organization of educated Indians, it aimed at ventilating the grievances of Indians and suggesting remedies. Lord Dufferin who hoped that such an organization would be helpful in preventing the out break of armed resistance against British rule, favoured it. It met at Bombay in December 1885 with W. C. Banerjee in the chair. Thereafter the congress met every year, expressed its loyalty to the British and then petitioned to the Government for more posts for the Indians in the Government.

In course of time there emerged two groups in the Congress, known as Moderates and Extremists. The extremists were led by "Bala Gangadar Tilak" who declared "Swaraj (self-goverment) is my birth right" and advocated direct action to achieve freedom. He tried to infuse patriotism among to the Indians by reviving the Ganesha Cult and Shivaji Cult. But the moderate group was headed by Goplakrishna Gokhale who advocated self goverment under British rule, to be obtained by non - violent constitutional methods. The two groups often clashed with each other.

In 1905, Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal with a view to securing administrative efficiency and also to weaken nationalism in Bengal. The extremists opposed it as anti-national and started the Swadeshi movement and advocated terrorism. Foreign goods were burnt and British officers were murdered. But the terroristic movement was soon suppressed by the British. Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh the two great leaders of the extremists were deported to Burma in 1907. In that year the Indian National Congress met at Surat wherein the Moderates and the Extremists quarrelled vehemently with each other over their policies. Taking advantage of the disunity among the Nationalists, the British sent many leaders to jail. Among them were Tilak and V. O. Chidambaram Pillai of Tamil Nadu, who started the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. Also they encouraged the Muslims to keep away from the nationalist movement. In 1906 the Muslim League was founded. It opposed the Swadeshi movement and supported the British and the partition of Bengal. In 1909 by the Minto Morley reforms the Muslims were given separate electorates.

In 1914 the First world war broke out. The Congress cooperated with the British in the war effort. In 1915 - 16 Annie Beasant supported by Tilak. launched the Home Rule Movement. In 1915, the Moderates and the Extremists came together thanks to the initiative of Dr. Annie Beasant. In 1916 the Muslim League and the Congress joined together in demanding Home Rule.

Gandhian Era (1919 - 1947)

Since 1915 leadership of the Indian National movement passed into the hands of Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi. He spent several years in South Africa, fighting for the rights of Indians who were oppressed by the whites. There he developed the technique of satyagraha, by which the oppressed people could fight against their oppressors through non - violent methods. On his return to India he joined at first the Moderate Group of Congress and considered Gokhale as his Guru or mentor. During the war he actively supported the war - efforts, for he hoped that British would express their gratitude by granting self - government to the Indians. In 1919 after the war, the British government enacted the Government of India Act by which it gave a certain amount of responsible government to the people. Not satisfied with the Act, the people turned to strikes and riots. The British now adopted a repressive policy.

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 took away the elementary right such as personal freedom, from the Indians. Gandhi at once condemned the Act as in human and appealed to the nation to resist the Act by observing fasts and hartals. Accordingly demonstrations were held in Delhi, Lahore and Amirtsar. The Muslims launched the Khilafat Agitation, in support of the Sultan of Turkey who was deprived of his rights by British and the Congress organized the Non - Co - operation movement. At Jallianwalla the army opened fire against an unarmed crowd and killed 379 people. This is known as the Jallianwalla massacre.

When the Prince of Wales visited India in 1921, the Congress organized a hartal all over India. But the hartal was followed by violence in some places. At Chauri - Chaura 22 policemen were burnt to death by a mob. Gandhiji at once suspended the movement but it was resented by a group of Congress leaders such as C. R. Doss and Pandit Motilal Nehru

formed a new party called the Swarajya party. The party's aim was to enter the legislatures and fight the British government from within.

In 1928, the British government sent to India a commission headed by Sir John Simon, to inquire into the working of the 1919 constitution. Since the Simon Commission did not include any Indian in it, all political parties including the Congress boycotted it. Hartals and strikes were organized at Bombay to protest against the arrival of the commission. Black flags were shown to them wherever they went. The Congress session at Culcutta, held in 1928, demanded the granting of self-government under the British or Dominion Status within a year. But the demand was ignored by the British. Therefore the Congress in its Lahore session of 1929, declared complete independence from British rule was its goal and authorized Gandhiji to chalk out a plan of action to achieve the goal.

Accordingly Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930. He organized a procession to Dandi in Gujarat coast to resist the salt law by manufacturing salt from seawater. Thousands of Satyagrahis who took part in the Civil Disobedience movement were arrested. In Tamil Nadu, the Satyagrahis led by Rajaji proceeded to Vedaranyam singing the marching song composed by Namakkal poet Ramalingam Pillai and broke the salt law. At several places lathi charges and firings were resorted to by the police to disperse crowds. All top leaders of the Congress including Gandhiji were arrested.

As recommended by the Simon Commission a Round Table conference was organized in 1930, to discuss the Indian situation and find a solution. The Congress boycotted the session since many of the leaders were in prison. Therefore the Viceroy Lord Irwin entered into a pact with Gahdiji (Gandhi-Irwin pact) according to which all the political prisoners were released and the Civil Disobedience movement was withdrawn. Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference held in 1932 but could not

achieve anything. On his return he organized Civil Disobedience movement in which thousands of men and women took part, and courted arrest. Meanwhile Ramsay Macdonald announced his 'Communal award' by which he promised a separate electorate for the 'depressed classes'. Gandhiji opposed it while Dr. Ambedkar the leader of the scheduled castes welcomed it. Gandhiji went on an indefinite fast in protest against the communal award. At last the Poona pact was arranged between Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhiji by which the separate electorate was abolised, but there was reservation of seats for the 'depressed classes'. In 1933 the third Round Table Conference was held. The congress sent no representative to it. The conclusions of the three Round Table Conferences were embodied in the Government of India Act passed by British Parliament in 1935.

The 1935 Act proposed a federal constitution, with dyarchy in the centre and autonomy in the provinces. Since the Indian princes did not cooperate, the federation did not come into existance. The rest of the constitution was put into practice in 1937. Elections were held and the Congress and Muslim League took part in them. The Congress won the majority of seats in the legislature of six out of eleven provinces and formed its own governments in them. The Congress ministries sought to implement Gandhiji's constructive programme which included promotion of Khadi, Prohibition and Harijan Uplift.

In 1939 the British government took India into war against the Axis powers without consulting the Congress. Therefore the Congress ministries resigned and refused to support to war efforts of the government. Gandhiji started individual Satyagarha in 1940. In 1942, the Congress led the Quit India movement by which it asked the British Government to leave India for good. After the failure of the so called Cripps mission which promised freedom to India at the end of the war and solicited her full co-operation during the war. The Government arrested Gandhiji and many other top leaders. This caused the Great August rebellion of 1942, in which violence was let loose and a lot of government

property was destroyed. Gandhi and other national leaders were not responsible for this violence as they were in prison. The mob without leaders turned violent. Thousands were imprisoned and tortured.

In the meantime Subash Chandra Bose, a great patriot and twice President of the National Congress who had gone to Japan, organized the Indian National Army (INA) from out of the Indian prisoners of war taken by the Japanese and invaded Manipur region in North East India. But the invasion was repulsed by the British. Subash Chandra Bose's activity made the British feel that the Indian Army could not be relied upon to maintain imperialism.

After the end of the second world war, the Labour party came into power in Britain. The leader of the party and Prime Minister Atlee was well disposed towards India, unlike his conservative predecessor Sri Winston Churchill. He sent a Cabinet Mission in 1946 to recommend a suitable solution to the Indian problem. The Mission suggested a federation of autonomous Hindu and Muslim majority provinces. But the Congress refused to join the interim government suggested by the mission though the Muslim League accepted it. Without the congress the British refused to form the interim government and then allowed the Congress alone to form the government. In anger the Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah started the 'Direct Action' in which Muslims killed Hindus. The Hindus then retaliated. Gandhiji took a Padha Yatra (walking tour) in Bengal to curb communal riots. At last the riots ended and both the congress and the league entered the interim government. The league demanded a separate state for the Muslims and refused to join the Constituent Assembly to frame a new Constitution. Meanwhile Atlee announced that the British would transfer power to Indians before the end of June 1948. This was followed by another direct action by the muslim league resulting in another

holocaust of human lives and property. Lord Mountbatten who was appointed as Viceroy in March 1947, after long negotiations with the congress and the league suggested partition of India into India and Pakistan. This was accepted by both the parties. The Indian Independence Bill was passed in July 1947 by the British parliament. India became independent on August 15, 1947 but the freedom which was granted to India was based upon partition.

Part Played by Tamil Nadu in Freedom Struggle

Tamil Nadu played no mean part in the freedom struggle of India. In fact the very idea of starting the Indian National Congress was mooted in a meeting of the Thesophical Society held in 1884 at Adayar. Even before that Salem Vijayarahavachariar was arrested in 1852, for talking of Nationalism. Bala Gangadara Tilak, the extremist leader of the Congress had many followers in Tamil Nadu. Subramania Bharathi, the partiot poet of Tamil Nadu was inspired by Tilak. V. O. Chidamabaram Pillai, who championed the Swadeshi movement and started the Swadeshi Navigation Company at Tuticorin was his ardent follower. He and his followers V. V. S. Iyer, and Subramania Siva suffered much in jail for their patriotic leanings. His disciple, Vanchinatha Iyer murdered Ash, the Collector of Tinnevelly and committed suicide. Dr. Annie Beasant when she started the Home Rule Movement was supported by Thiru V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu, Rangasamy Iyengar and others. Thiru Vi. Ka was a great patriot who wrote firy articles in his paper Desa Bakthan. Mahatma Gandhi had a large number of followers in Tamil Nadu. Even Periar E. V. Ramasamy Naicker was originally in the Congress and an admirer of Gandhiji. He took part in the Vaikam Satyagraha against the practice of untouchability. We have seen how Gandhiji's salt satyagraha had a ready response in Tamil Nadu. Many leaders like Satyamurthi, Kamaraja Nadar, Sivagnana Gramaniar, Varadarajulu Naidu took part in Satyagraha and courted arrest. Poet Ramalingam Pillai, inspired by Gandhiji, propagated his ideals through his simple poems. In the 1942 quit India movement also a large number of Tamilians took part and

went to jail. The I. N. A. movement started by Subhas Bose, also had its supporters in Tamil Nadu like Muthu Ramalinga Thevar.

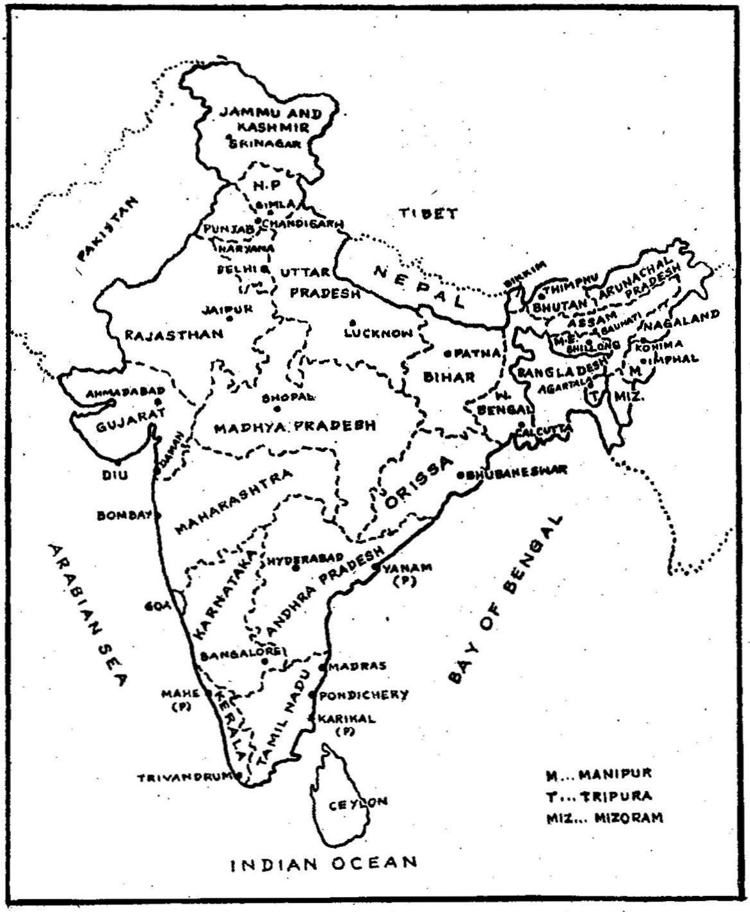


Fig. 22. 1. India—States & Capitals

At last when India attained freedom, Tamil Nadu supplied its first Governor General, namely Rajaji.

Growth of Nationalism in South East Asia

In the eastern half of the Asian Continent, there are two big countries called China and Japan. Besides these large countries there are also some smaller countries such as Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo - China, the Philippines and the East Indies or Indonesia. All these lesser countries are generally known as South East Asian Countries. All these countries attained freedom from their foreign rulers during the 20th century.

During the medieval period there was no national feeling among these countries. Petty Princes who were ruling different parts of these countries were often quarrelling among themselves. Exploiting this disunity, the European powers easily conquered and colonised them. By the end of the nineteenth century, all these countries except Siam came under the Western rule. The European powers, rode roughshod over the feelings of the natives and went on exploiting their economic resources for well over a century. Slowly these nations woke up from their deep slumber and began to clamour for their rights and privileges.

Their sense of Nationalism was whipped up by various factors. The economic exploitation indulged in by the imperial power, the denial of political power to the natives, concentration of all authority in the hands of a few Europeans, denial of higher education to many, lack of political influence of the growing educated classes etc., caused widespread discontent among the people. The spread of western liberal education filled the minds of educated youngmen with ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Study of western revolutions made them patriotic and lovers of independence. The benefits of western science introduced by the rulers - the press, the telegraph, railways etc aided the process. The political consciousness was confined however to a small group of educated persons. They were further inspired by the nationalist movement in China and India.The influence of Indian leaders

like Mahatma Gandhi was indeed great. The Victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, shattered the myth of western invincibility and the inhabitants of South East Asia felt that they could also fight successfully against their white masters. The ideals of democracy and self-determination for which the world wars were fought, filled in the minds of colonial countries great hopes of freedom and self-government. The Russian propoganda against colonialism and the Japanese slogan 'Asia for Asiatics' further intensified the growth of Nationalism among the subject people of South East Asia. It reached its climax after the end of the second world war and manifested itself in non - violent as well as violent agitations against western imperialism and subsequent attainment of freedom by all these countries of South East Asia.

1) Burmese Nationalism

Burma was part of India before it got independence. It is situated East of present day India and Bangladesh and west of China, Siam and Indo - China. Its western coast is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. In the beginning of the 19th century it was being ruled by native princes, who accepted the suzeranity of the Chinese. In the later part of the 19th century it was conquered by the British and annexed to India. It was integrated with India in 1897 and remained a province of India till 1937 when it was separated and became a crown colony with certain amount of self - government.

Burma is rich in natural resources such as rubber, teak wood, rice, oil, tin, lead etc. British capital was mainly invested in oil and teakwood business, while the British firms were engaged in variety of other enterprises. (The Chettiars of Tamil Nadu had a thriving money lending business in Burma). The peasants who freely borrowed from them could not repay the loans and eventually gave away their lands to the Chettiars and became landless labourers. These landless peasantry were very much discontented and became an important factor in the rise of Burmese Nationalism. Indian indentured labour was freely used for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes. The Burmese had

no share in the enjoyment of the economic resources of the country. Their discontent became a fertile soil for the growth of Nationalism. The spread of English education helped the growth of Nationalism. The intellectuals wanted to have some share in the administration of the country. They also condemned the laissez-faire policy of the British which made Burma, a fertile hunting ground for foreign capitalists. They resented the British policy of ameliorating the conditions of the tribals and destroying the cohesive nature of Burmese village economy. The Buddhist monks were sorely dissatisfied with the British rule because they lost all official patronage. The landless labourers, whose number was increasing day by day posed a serious problem. These landless peasants, Buddhist monks, and the intellectuals were three focal points of Burmese nationalism. The last two supplied leadership to the National movement.

Like the Indians, they Burmese expected that they would be given some amount of self-government after the first world war. But they were disappointed when it was announced that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms would not be applicable to Burma. So they agitated against the British rule. The agitaions though suppressed, had the desired effect. In 1921 Burma came to be treated as any other Indian province and was given some additional privileges. But these reforms only incresed the national appetite of the Burmese They wanted further concession. The general council of the Buddhist Association, an organization comparable to the Indian National Congress boycotted the elections held according to the 1919 Act. Therefore only minorities could enter the cabinet. The Nationalists accused not only the British, but also the immigrant Indians for their poverty and ignorance. So the British Government in 1931 proposed the separation of Burma from India. But the Burmese nationalists rejected it as they suspected that such a move would only help the perpetuation of colonialism in Burma. However Burma was separated from India in 1937 and a qualified Dominion Status was granted to it. But the Nationalists were not satisfied.

The Burmese peasants indulged in a big rebellion against the British rule in 1930, under the leadership of Saya Sen, a Buddhist Priest. But it was easily quelled. After that the Socialist Dobama (we Burmans) Society formed by the young Burmese Nationalists continued the agitation for complete independence. Students, workers and peasants swelled the rank and file of the Dobama party which was also known as the Thakin party. When limited autonomy was granted to Burma in 1937, it was opposed by the Nationalists who wanted complete freedom. They organised an anti British boycott movement in 1938. However Ba Maw the leader of the national Revolutionary Party became the Premier in 1939 under the new constitution. When the second world war broke out, he made a secret treaty with the Japanese.

When the Japenese overran the country in 1942, the extremists in Burma, welcomed them. The Japanese recognised the independence of Burma and handed over the authority to Ba Maw in August 1942. But soon the Burmese found out that the Japanese had their own selfish designs to exploit the country. They organised the Anti - Fascist people's Freedom League (AFPFL) and opposed the Japanese. General Aung Sen became its leader.

After the war, the British tried to re - establish their authority in Burma. But the AFPFL started agitation against the British authority. The British tried to pacify them by giving six out of eleven seats in the Executive council of the Viceroy to grant representatives of AFPFL. The Labour government under Atlee decided to grant independence to Burma and entered into an agreement to that effect with Aung Sen on January 27, 1947. But internal strife led to the wholesale assassination of Aung Sen and his cabinet ministers After further negotiations Burma was granted full independence by a treaty signed by both the parties on October 17 on January 1948, an independent Burma came into existence. Unlike India, it chose to stay out of the British Commonwealth and be a Republic.

Thakin Nu alias U Nu became the Premier of independent Burma. But he had to meet several resistance movements, especially the communist oriented Karens, who in 1949 captured almost the whole of Burma except the capital. But soon the rebels were put down. U Nu restored order and peace, revitalised the Buddist faith, promoted industries and gave the country a clean administration. But soon the conditions deteriorated and chaos and confusion prevailed every where. Therefore U Nu handed over power to the military Commander Ne Win in 1958. The military government succeeded in restoring order and suppressing the rebel elements After that it allowed the reinstallment of civilian governments. Elections were held and U Nu became once again premier of Burma. But the deterioration of law and order situation led to a second military take over by General Ne win on March 2, 1962. A Revolutionary Council was formed to rule the country by force. Ne win organised the Burmese Socialist Party and became its leader. All other parties were banned. Being a socialist to the core, he tried to make Burma an out and out Socialist State. He nationalised the industries, and trade on a large scale. When such sudden nationalisation led to decline in the rate of economic growth he relaxed the pace of socialism. In 1969, he introduced a new constitution called 'Democratic Socialist system' by which he sought to establish in Burma a strong socialist State. In foreign policy he followed the policy of non-alignment and tried to establish cordial relationship with both the capitalist and communist power blocks.

(2) Thailand (Siam)

Thailand named after the people of the Thai stock, who originally conquered the country, is situated in between Indo-China and Burma. It is the only country in South East Asia which escaped foreign conquest. Britain and France attempted to conquer it in the 19th century but failed owing to mutual rivalry. By playing them one against the other Thailand kept up its independence.

Between 1822 and 1856, Thailand concluded some commercial and other treaties with Britain France and U. S. A. by which the rights of extraterritoriality were conceded to the western powers. It also agreed to a conventional tariff. In spite of these treaties Britain and France went on grabbing the border territories upto 1909. During the period of King Rama VI Vadjiravuth (1910 -1925) the western countries were persuaded to renounce extra - territoriality and regulation of tariffs by treaties. In 1938 a leader called Phibun captured power with the support of the military, and he established virtual military dictatorship in the country. The dictatorship fostered nationalism by promoting educational reforms, imposing Thai language and culture on all other people such as Malays and Muslims, by bringing under national control some of the key industries and communication system which were originally controlled by foreigners, by starting fresh industries such as paper, sugar and tobacco factories under the auspices of the government and by promoting a number of Sccial and cultural reforms. For example Buddhism was made the national religion and was identified with patriotism. A movement was started to teach cleanliness to the people and also decency in dress and manners. Betel chewing and spitting every where were prohibited. A distinct national culture was thus evolved under government control. In tune with the nationalistic aspirations the country's name was changed from Siam to Thailand.

It agitated for the restoration of their territories captured by Britan and France. As a result, it acquired about 40,000 square miles from Laos after the defeat of the French in the second world war. In exchange Japan acqired some commercial privileges in Thailand. During the war it allied itself with Japan and opposed the U. S. A. and Britain. After the war Britain tried to make Thailand a protectorate. But it was prevented by U. S. A. After the war, Thailand was deprived of those territories which it gained during the war. But it was allowed to remain free and was admitted to the United Nations organisation as a member in December 1946.

(3) Malayan Nationalism

The Malay Peninsula situated south of Burma and Indo-China and surrounded by the Indian Ocean on the west and Pacific Ocean on the east, occupies a strategic position in the Far-East. It is one of the world's leading producers of rubber and tin. Its people are composed of different ethnic stocks, Malay natives, the Chinese, the Indians, and a few Europeans. Of all these the Malays are the majority and most backward. They considered the Chinese and Indians as their exploiters. They practised farming and fishing while the Europeans owned the tin mines and rubber plantations. High posts in government were also held by them. The Chinese also owned plantations and captured the trade of the country. The Indians worked as lawyers, doctors, businessmen and plantation labourers. Besides racial and economic differences, there were also religious differences. The Malays were Muslims, the Chinese were Buddhists, the Indians were Hindus or Moslems and the Europeans were Christians. All these differences cut at the root of National consciousness in Malaya for quite a long time.

The Portuguese were the first to enter Malaya. They captured Malacca in 1511. The Dutch took it from them in 1641. The British conquered it in 1795. Slowly the British strengthened their hold over the Peninsula. In 1867 Malay colonies were formed into a crown colony under a British governor. By 1909 the whole of the Peninsula was under the direct or indirect control of the British. It was ruled differently in different regions. Some of them were directly under the British rule and they were called Crown Colonies. Someothers were under the protection of the British though ruled out by native Sultans.

The British rule in Malaya resulted in the growth of big plantations which were worked by imported labourers from India and China. British and Chinese capital were sunk

in the industries of Malaya. The British followed a policy of divide and rule in Malaya and maintained their authority. They reserved the governmental jobs only to the Malays and kept them cajoled. The Chinese and Indians resented such a policy and national spirit arose first only among them rather than among the native Malays. The British purposed fostered the culture of the Malays and kept them in feudal backwardness. While the Malays were busy safeguarding their old feudal structure, the Chinese and Indians inspired by Nationalist movements in their own homelands aspired for independence for Malaya also.

During the second world war Malaya was conquered by the Japanese, who encouraged the rivalry between the Malays and Chinese. The Chinese soon saw through their intentions and began guerilla warfare against them by getting arms and ammunitions from Britain. The Japanese treated the Indians in Malaya with some respect and consideration. They allowed Subhas Chandra Bose of India to organise the Indian National Army in South East Asia. The Indians in Malaya became intensly nationalistic after this. They were filled with new hope and confidence. The Malays also got some experience in governing themselves during the Japanese rule.

After the war, the British came back to Malaya and proposed a Malay Union under their own control. They proposed equal rights of citizenship to Malays, Chinese and Indians in 1946. This aroused protest from the Malays who organised the United Malayan National Organisation (UMNO) to oppose the proposals. An extreme Pro - Indonesian Malay Nationalist organisation (P U T E R A) was also organised to oppose the British rule. Because of such opposition the British dropped their original proposals and set up a Federation of Malaya in February 1948. In the new Federation the Malays were given some more privileges. The Sultans were allowed to keep up their formal sovereignty, while the British retained control over Defence and Foreign policy. Singapore was given a separate status. But the new constitution was oppsed by the communists who

organising the Malayan National Army began a war with the British. They declared their aim to be the establishment of

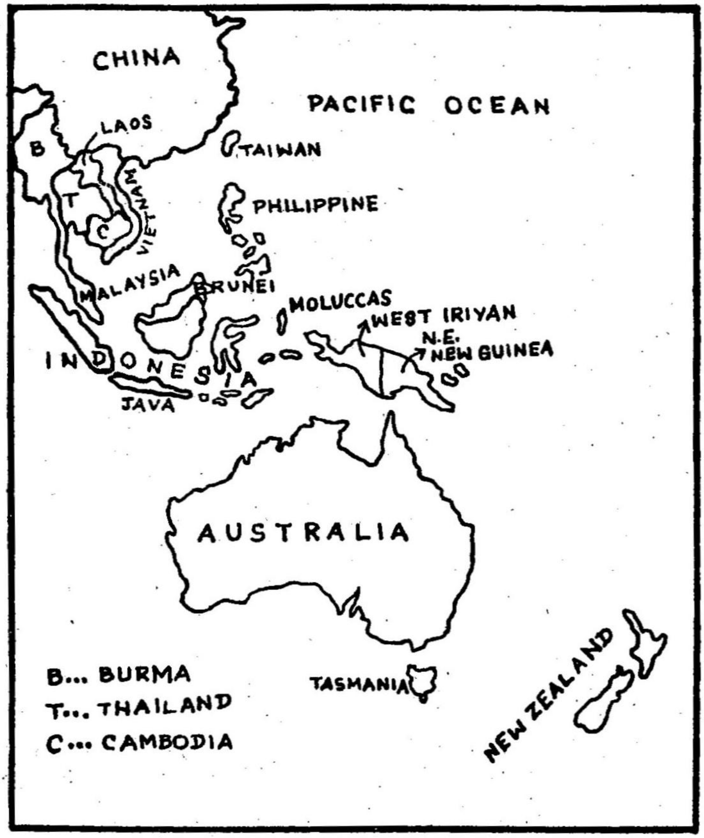


Fig. 22 . 2. South East Asia — 1966

independent Malayan Peoples Democratic Rupublic with equality for all races. After five years of warfare the communists were subdued.

The British realised that they could not retain their hold on Malaya for long. They liberalised their policy gradually and

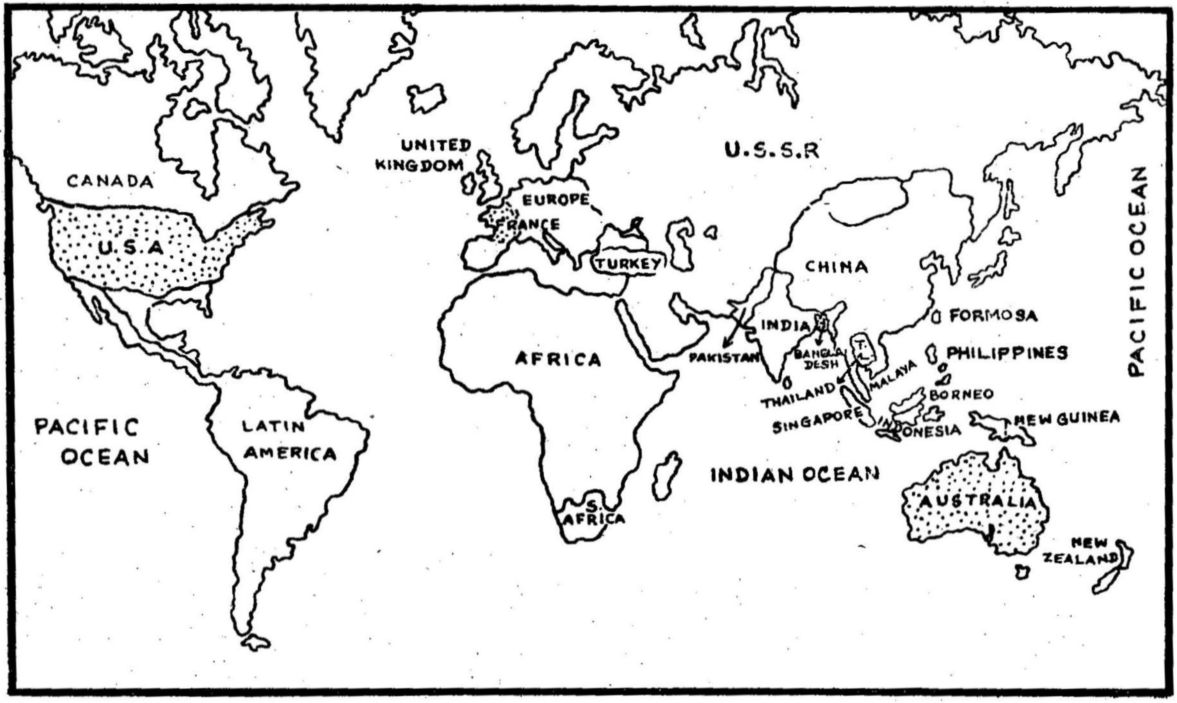


Fig. 22. 3 The S. E. A. T. O. Powers

finally gave it full independence in August 1957. The Malayan Federation was established with Tengku (Prince) Abdul Rahaman as its Premier. The federation was to consist of nine States and two settlements and was to be headed by a Paramount ruler elected by the Sultans of different states. The Premier would be elected by the parliament which would be elected by the people and would be responsible to the Parliament. In 1957 Singapore became a self - governing colony. In 1959 it became independent. Lee Kuan Yew, the leader of the Peoples Action Party became its first Prime Minister.

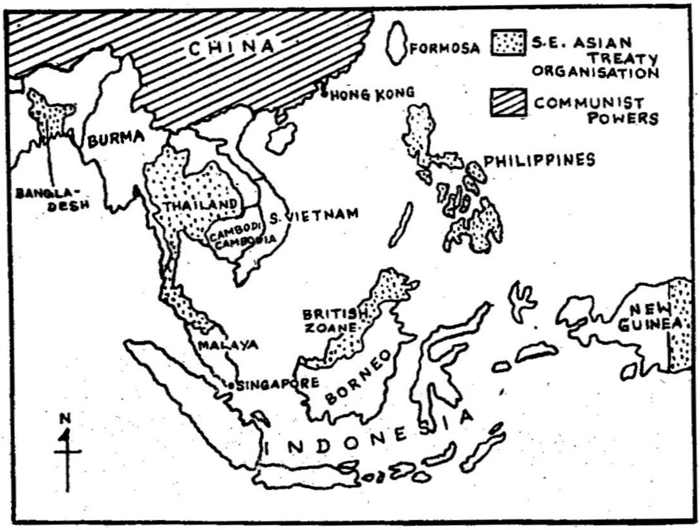


Fig. 22.4 The S. E. A. T. O. Powers

Tengku Abdul Rahman proposed in 1961 a Federation of Malaysia, including Malaya, Singapore and the three British protected territories of Sabah in North Borneo, Sarwak and Brunei. But Philippines and Indonesia began to claim North Borneo for themselves. At last the U. N. O. interfered and held plebiscites in Sabah and Sasawak. As the two territories were in

favour of merger with the federation, the proposed Federation of Malaysia was established in September 16, 1963. Indonesia first opposed the merger and even sent guerillas to attack Malaya. But after the exits of Sukarno, it reconciled itself with Malaysia. Philippines also established friendly relations with Malaysia in 1965. Singapore became independent of the Union. In August 1967, Malaya, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines established the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for mutual help and cooperation.

(4) Nationalism in Indo - China

Indo - China forms the extreme South Eastern portion of the Asian Continent. It is situated south of China and its Eastern Coastline faces the Pacific Ocean. It consisted of the former French possessions of Cochin China, French protectorates of Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and Laos. Mostly these regions are covered by mountains and forests. The people are of Mongolian stock, closely resembling the Chinese.

The Portuguese were the first to enter Indo-China in the 16 th Century. The French came into it in the 17th century as traders, but slowly established their control over the whole country by the end of 19th Century. Before their occupation, the major portion of Indo-China was ruled by the Emperor of Annam who recognised Chinese suzerainty. The French completed their conquest by 1907. They followed a policy of systematic exploitation of its economic resources such as rice, zinc, tin, coal.

The French Revolution of 1789 supplied the ideological background for Indo-Chinese nationalism. A small group of Annamite intellectuals inspired by western ideals and the Japanese Victory over Russia in 1905 joined together and started a series of rights against the French. But they were all severely put down by the French imperialists. The French

improved the irrigational facilities by a net work of canals and promoted Agriculture. But the Chinese money-lenders simply fleezed the peasants by collecting usurious interest. Indebtness of the peasantry in the north and the estate system in the south created a lot of agrarian unrest. The rich mines were all monopolized by the French. This organized exploitation of the country raised protest from nationalist agitators who took inspiration from the Indian National movement. The moderates among them demanded reforms soon after the First World war. But their hopes were frustrated. Then came the turn of the extremists. In 1925 the Revolutionary part of Young Annam was founded to agitate for self-government. In 1928-29 another revolutionary party was formed. In 1930 the party started an armed insurrection Yen Bai. But the uprising was suppressed.

In 1930 **Than Nien** or the Indo - Chinese Communist Party was founded by Ho-Chi-Minh. Peasants and workers joined it on a large scale and organized big strikes and peasant uprisings. A series of violent outbreaks rose all over the country in 1930 which was called the 'Year of Red Terror' by the French. The uprisings were of course ruthlessly suppressed. The movement saubsided and the communists went underground. Ho-Chi-Minh fled to Hong Kong where he was kept imprisoned for three years. In 1935 and 1936 the communist rebellions swept the Country again. In 1936 they organised the Indo - Chinese Congress and adopted a four point programme to achieve a Democratic Front. In 1941 Ho-Cho-Minh returned home and founded the Independence League of Vietnam called Viet Minh.

After the defeat of France in the second world war, Indo - China temporarily passed under Japanese control. However the popular resistance continued. The people were in no mood to exchange the yellow masters in the place of the white. The Japanese tried to crush them but failed. At last on March 11, 1945 they declared the whole country except Laos and Combodia to be independent, and set up Bao Dai, the Emperor of Annam as

the Emperor of the newly created state of Vietnam consisting of Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China. But the people paid utter disregard to Bai Dai who abdicated in 1945, shortly after the surrender of Japan. On September 2, 1945, the Viet Minh organized Provisional Government with Ho-Chi-Minh as its President. Vietnam declared itself as independent. Thus the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established.

The new Government received an immediate set back. The potsdam Conference gave the Chinese control over the territory north of the 16th parallel, and the British that of the south one. The French tried to reestablish their authority with the help of the British. But the Chinese were not in favour of the restoration of the French authority. Therefore the French concluded an agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on March 6, 1946 by which the French recognised it as a free State. But they did not keep up their words and invaded Vietnam. The Vietnamese retaliated and thus a civil war arose in 1946 between the North and South Indo-China.

The French in 1949 tried to play the old game of divide and rule by appointing Bao Dai as chief of the whole State of Vietnam. But the influence at Ho-Chi-Minh did not decrease. Bao Dai surprisingly demanded complete independence for his people. The French Government granted some concessions. Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, recognised as Associated States were permitted to control their own customs and foreign trade. Ho-Chi-Minh was declared an outlaw. But the Chinese Reds gave him and his government sanctuary. The fight with the French continued and in 1954, the French suffered a major defeat at **Dienbienphu.** France lost hope and agreed to sit round the table for a compromise. Initiated by the Chinese and Russians the Geneva Conference was held in 1954. In this conference India played a major role through V. K. Krishna Menon. According to the Geneva Agreement Laos and Cambodia were to have popular govern-

ments on the basis of free elections and French troops were to be withdrawn from these provinces. Vietnam should be divided into two parts by the 17th parallel and that a popular government for both Vietnam and Viet Minh should be established on the basis of elections. A supervisory machinery called the International Control Commission was established with India as Chairman.

But the Geneva agreement was not implemented. U. S. A. came into the field and in the name of containment of Communism gave all out support to Ngo Dinh Diem against Bao Dai and tried to strengthen South Vietnam. Soon Diem assumed dictational power and committed all sorts of atrocities. To oppose him a National Liberation Front called Viet Cong was started in 1961. In November 1963, Diem, and his brother were assassinated. The Viet Cong was gaining ground day by day in the South. U. S. A. wanted to prevent the Communist influence in the south somehow and began sending American soldiers into south Vietnam. In retaliation to the Vietnamese attack on some American warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, U. S. A. ordered whole sale bombing of North Vietnam. Direct warfare arose between North Vietnam and the American troops who numbered 600,000 in 1968. But they could make no head way against the patriotic resistance of the communists. But public opinion in U. S. A. began to turn against American involvement in Vietnam which was characterized as a colossal waste of men and money. U. S. A. at last bowed to public opinion and stopped sending troops to Vietnam. Negotiations were held at Paris in 1973, and a treaty was signed. The U. S. agreed to withdraw all its soldiers from Vietnam and both the parties stopped fighting. But the corrupt Thien government in South Vietnam was opposed by the people, especially the Buddhists and the Catholics. The Viet cong forces also launched an offenive against it. Ultimately the Saigon government of South Vietnam was over thrown and the two Vietnam were reunited. The dream of Ho-Chi-Minh and the Nationalists of Indo-China was at last realized.

(5) Indonesian Nationalism

Land and the people : Indonesia is an archipelago, composed of a group of islands, lying along the Equator in the Pacific Ocean. Though there are more than 3000 islands in it, the bigger ones among them are only five, i. e. Borneo, New Gerinea, Sumatra, Celeber and Java. They are also known as 'East Indies' and 'Spice Islands' because in olden times they supplied Europe, most of the spices it needed. Even now it is rich in natural resources such as rubber, quinine, pepper, copra, petroleum, tin, sugar etc. Malay people were the first to enter these islands. Then came the Indians, Chinese and Muslims. Their culture was much influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism. But after the fifteenth century Islam supplanted them and it is the national religion except in Bali.

Advent of Europeans

In Modern times the Europeans entered these islands as traders. The Portuguese were the first to come. Then came the British and the Dutch. Ultimately the Dutch people drove away all the other foreigners and established a monopoly in Spice trade. The Dutch East India Company though a trading concern, soon established political control over most of the islands, by a series of treaties with the native princes. When the company collapsed the Dutch government assumed control over them in 1800. By 1910, the whole of Indonesia came under Dutch rule.

Dutch Rule

Like all other Imperalist Nations of Europe, the Dutch were mainly concerned with the economic exploitation of the Indies rather than improving the conditions of the native people. They deliberately denied higher education to the natives, lest they should imbibe the liberal ideas of Nationalism and democracy from western literature. They followed what is called the " Ethical Policy " by which they strove to protect the native culture from western impact. Therefore

Nationalism made very little progress in Indonesia before the second World War.

Rise of Nationalism

Nationalism first made its appearance among the few educated Chinese in Indonesia. Well to-do Chinese merchants sent their children to Europe and gave them the benefit of Western Education. Such western educated Indonesian idealists started a Nationalist movement in the 19th century. They openly criticized the policy of the Dutch government in suppressing native Rubber Industry by heavy taxation and keeping them ignorant of western sciences. The Victory of Japan over China and later Russia stimulated their national spirit and the desire for westernisation.

Budi Utamo meaning High Endeavour was the first Nationalist organisation to be established in Indonesia in 1908. Consisted largely of government officials who merely, clamoured for higher education. But the Sarekat Islam, a nationalist party founded in 1912, was more progressive in its aims and ideals. In 1914 it declared that achievement of complete political independence was its avowed objective. It also wanted to free the Indonesians from the oppression of Chinese merchants. Inspired by the methods of Indian National Congress it adopted a policy of non-violent non cooperation for achieving its ideals. But the **Partai Kommunis Indie (PKI)** another nationalist party founded in 1919 declared radical socialism as its ideal and adopted revolutionary methods to realize its ideal. As in India the Dutch imperialists suppressed the extremists by imprisonment and torture, while they encouraged moderates. Nationalists started the socalled **'Study Clubs'** all over Indonesia to study the social, economic and political problems and agitate for their rights. The **Partai National Indonesia (PNI)** founded in 1927, from the Bandung Study Club became more vociferous than all other parties. It declared that attainment of independence through non-cooperation movement and establishment of democratic aims were its

goals. It soon became the leading nationalist party in the country. The Dutch government tried to suppress the P N I by imprisioning its leaders such as Sukarno and Kusuma. It also tried to win over the moderate section of people by introducing some reforms in administration. But they refused to establish real representative institutions. The Nationalists were frustrated by the policies of the Dutch and united themselves into one party in 1939 under the leadership of Dr. Sukarno.

Towards Independence

The National movement in Indonesia gathered momentum during the second world war. The Japanese who conquered the East Indies during the war, fanned Nationalist feelings among the people. Though in the beginning it did not have the intention to grant full independence to Indonesia, later on when it was rapidly losing the war against U. S. A. and was about to surrender allowed the Indonesians to proclaim the establishment of an independent Republic. On August 17, 1945, the East Indies became an independent republic under the name of Indonesia. Dr. Sukarno became its first President. When the war was over, the British occupation force sent by the allies to accept Japanese surrender and evacuate allied prisoners of war and civil internees recognised the Indonesian Republic. The Dutch tried to re - establish their authotity by fighting with the Indonesians. But, owing to the stout resistance from the people, the Dutch ultimately gave way and recognized the Indonesian Republic by the so called **Linggadjati Agreement** a treaty entered into between the Dutch and the Indonesians. According to the agreement, the independence of Java, Sumatra and Madura was recognised by the Dutch. But the Dutch did not keep up their promises and again attacked the Republican territories. They called it as 'Police action'. At this point, the United Nations took up the Indonesian question at the request of India and Australia and ordered a cease - fire. Both the parties accepted the order. But the Dutch once again resorted to Police action and imprisoned many Indone-

sian leaders. The Security council took no effective steps to solve the problem. Therefore, Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of Free India, convened an **Asian Conference** at New Delhi, to consider the united action in favour of Indonesians. Spurred by the resolutions of the conference the Security Council ordered the Dutch to stop aggression. The Dutch also ultimately bowed the world opinion, released the Indonesian leaders and after a Round Table Conference at Hague, granted freedom to Indonesia on 27th December 1949. The United States of Indonesia consisting of 16 States was created as a sovereign Federal republic. But in 1950, it was transformed into a United and Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Four years later on August 10, 1954, union with Netherlands was terminated. Sukarno was elected the President and Dr. Hatta became the Prime Minister.

Post - independence Period

Independent Indonesia was beset with many problems. A large number of political parties arose and endangered political stability and efficiency. Ministries were often changing. President Sukarno, in order to stem the tide of instability proposed in 1957, what he called 'guided democracy' in the place of Parliamentary democracy. This was resented by the other political parties as a first step towards dictatorship. The army units in Sumatra, Borneo and other islands rebelled against him in 1957. But they were all put down by 1958. In foreign policy Sukarno followed the policy of non - alignment. He stressed the need for Afro - Asian cooperation and hosted the Bandung conference of Afro - Asian countries in 1955. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru played a leading role in that conference. He also got from the Dutch the territory called West Indian (the Dutch New Guinea) through the good offices of the U. N. O. He opposed the scheme of the Federation of Malaysia and even sent guerillas to attack that country. When Malaysia was admitted to the U. N. O. he withdrew Indonesia from the world body. Later on he reconciled with Malaysia and resumed membership of Indonesia in the U. N. O. His leaning towards the Communists and China was not liked by many. In 1965 a military coup tried to dislodge him

from power. But it failed. However it increased his unpopularity. In March 1966, he was forced to hand over legal power to the military Commander General Suharto. In 1967 he handed over even the shadowy powers to Suharto. He remained under house arrest till 1970 when he died.

The Philippine Nationalism

The Philippines which lie in the Pacific ocean, south of Formasa, is a cluster of about 7000 islands, full of forests, mountains and volcanoes. It was discovered in 1521 by Ferdinand Magellan in the time of Charles V of Spain and was named after Philip the son of Charles V. For centuries the islands were ruled by Spain which imposed christianity and European culture over the natives called Pilipinos. In 1898 U. S. A. waged a war with Spain and defeated it. As a result U. S. A. annexed Philippines in 1898, with the avowed aim of 'educating, civilizing and christianising' the Pilipinos. But the revolutionary nationalists continued guerilla resistance to the Americans up to 1901.

The Americans true to their pledge promoted the national aspirations of the Pilipinos. In 1907, an elected Assembly with a right to warn and advise the executive was established. A number of political parties were allowed to agitate for independence through constitutional methods. The National movement gathered momentum during the first world war. President wilson appointed eight Pilipinos to the nine man governing commission in Manila. Soon an elected upper house called Senate was introduced besides an elected lower House of Representatives. During the war, the U. S. troops were evacuated from the islands and they were allowed to man their affairs with their own Constables. But this liberal policy was reversed to a certain extent by the Republican party which assumed power in 1921. During the Great Depression of 1930's U. S. A. increased the imports of Philippine goods into U. S. A. and decreased the export of American goods to the Philippines. After the depression America decided to tax the Philippine goods. The import duties made the Pilipinos to think

of independence. American Capitalists also supported the movement on economic grounds. Due to their influence the **Tyding-Mcduffe Act** was passed in 1934, by the American legislature. According to this Act the Philippines was to get full independence in 1946, after a probationary period of self government. An autonomous common wealth of Philippines was set up in 1935. The Commonwealth Constitution provided for an elected President and Vice - President for a four years term. Bicameral legislature, with a senate and House of Representatives was introduced.

During the second world war the Pilippinos put up a stout resistance against the Japanese though some of them helped the enemy. In 1944 President Roosevelt announced that complete independence would be granted to the Philippines, if circumstances permitted. Accordingly the Philippines became independent on July 4, 1946. U. S. A. also took up, after the war, the responsibility of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the islands. Further the U. S. A. assumed the responsibility for the future defence of the islands against foreign aggression. They were allowed to establish some bases in the island.

Manual Roxas became the first President of the independent Republic of the Philippines. But the communist oriented Hukbalahap party known also as the 'Huks' resisted the new government and started a rebellion. The Huks advocated an agrarian revolution in the form of land reforms and collectivisation of farm lands. In spite of the best efforts the government could not root it out. Ramon Magsaysay followed a liberal policy towards the Huks and gave land and homes to those who surrendered. The rebels were finally driven into the mountains. Maysaysay supported communism and became the President of Philippines in December 1953. He was a friend of the poor and introduced many reforms for the amelioration of the poor and the afflicted. He cooperated fully with U. S. A. but at the same time, friendly with all other Nations. He played host in 1954 to South East Asian Treaty organisation (SEATO) established to combat communism in the South East.

Arab Nationalism

The sentiment of unity among the Arabs of Western Asia, namely Arab Nationalism was the resultant of many factors. The first and foremost was their religion, Islam. It gave them a common faith and a common goal towards which they moved with unity. After Muhammad the prophet, they carried his message to all the nearby territories and established the Arab-Islamic civilization which gave the Arabs a common cultural heritage to which they could look for inspiration and guidance. Thus Islam was not only an important factor in unifying the Arab world but also a potent factor in the rise of Nationalism in the area.

The Ottoman rule which lasted in the Arab world for centuries from the period of the crusades up to World War I provided political and administrative unity among various Arab states. It fostered also common language and religion, social and economic structure. Subjection to a common ruler created common interests among the Arabs and paved the way for national consciousness among them.

Muhummad Ali of Egypt who conquered Syria tried to establish an Arab empire, under his leadership. Though he failed in his attempt, his endeavour aroused national consciousness among the Arabs. He and his son Ibrahim, by their speeches and actions stirred the minds of enlightened Arabs to think in terms of a truly Arab State.

The Wahabi movement which arose in Arabia to restore the ancient religion in its primitive purity helped greatly the Arab-revival. It revitalised the decadent Arab world and infused a sense of unity among them.

A group of religious reformers headed by Jamal Ud-Dinhal Afghani, preached Pan - Islamism and thereby tried to revive the Muslim Nationalism. This movement indirectly helped the growth of Arab Nationalism also.

The impact of Western education was an important factor which contributed to the rise of Arab Nationalism.' Syria was the first drab country to come under the spell of western nationalist ideas. A sort of literary Renaissance arose in Syria, which stimulated Arab Syrian Nationalism which slowly spread to other Arab countries.

Certain Arab intellectuals assidiously fostered Arab Nationalism. Butrusel Bustani and his friend Nasif Yazeji founded in Beirut in 1857, the Syrian Scientific Society which became the meeting ground of Arab intellectuals of all sects. Its members glorified Arab culture and took pride in being Arabs. Ibrahim Yazeji son of Nasif Yazeji recited his famous Ode to patriotism, only in this Society. This poem asked the Arabs to remember their glorius past and unite together to drive away the Turks from their soil. Abder - Rahman el - Kawakabi a Syrian writer was another great champion of Arab Nationalism, of which he is sometimes regarded as the father. He advocated the revival of Arab Caliphate and the unity of Islam. He denounced Turkish tyranny and the ignorance of the Arab masses who suffered meekly. He asked them to drive away the Turks and create an unified Arab State. He preached Islamic revivalism, Arab Nationalism, Westernization and Constitutionalism. His preachings provided the ideological basis for the future Arab liberation movements.

Three distinct phases could be discerned in Arab Nationalism upto the beginning of the First World War. In the first phase, the Arab Nationalism was an idealistic movement. The intellectuals of this movement, who drew inspiration from the glorious part of the Arabs and the western ideas of constitutionalism, simply aspired for the revival of Arab glory and establishment of constitutional government in Turkey. They were not against Turkish rule as such. In the second phase of the national movement, the Arabs, who witnessed the failure of the Turks in the hands of Christian powers, began to ask for autonomy for Arab provinces with Arabic as official language. Some secret societies were formed

especially in Syria to achieve such an ideal. During the third phase, the Arab Nationalists became militant and clamoured for complete independence from the Turkish Yoke. At first the Arab Nationalists calling themselves as young Arabs cooperated with the Young Turks in overthrowing the despotic Hamid and establishment of constitutional government. But when the young Turks turned dictatorial, the Arabs developed hostility towards the Turks. Thus the Arab Nationalism which was merely cultural in its character became out and out political and practical after the Turkish revolution of 1908.

However there were a number of Arabs who still wanted to have Arab freedom within the Turkish Empire. In 1911 Hurrijet the Ittilaf (Freedom and concord party) was formed to demand complete decentralisation of the empire. A secret society called al Kahtaniya advocated the establishment of a dual Turo - Arab empire, wherein the Arabs would enjoy cultural freedom. The failure of the young Turks against Italy which captured Tripoli in 1912, the liberation of Albania, Greece etc. from Turkish rule shattered the hopes of the Arabs about their growth within Turkish empire. EL-Fatat a secret Arab National Society, which advocated at first decentralisation of Ottoman Empire, now demanded independence from Turkish rule. In 1913, the young Arab officers of the Ottoman army established Al - Ahad (The covenant) to overthrow the Turkish rule and establish an independent Arab State. Its leader Major Aziz Ali was arrested and exiled to Cairo. From there he was inspiring the Al - Ahad when the First World War broke out one group of Nationalists supported the Allied powers, in the hope that with their help they could achieve their ideal of self - government. Another group supported the Turks, because they feared that the white domination would be established over them, if the Turkish Empire fell. But they were soon disillusioned because of the victories of Allies against the Turks and the chauvinistic policy of the Young Turks. The ruthless suppression of Nationalist led to an open revolt of the Arabs in 1916. It was fomented by Britain and led by Hussein

Sheriff of the Hashimite family. At first the revolt was weak but it gathered momentum when the Nationalists were arrested and executed in large numbers by Jamal Pasha. Emir Faisel the son of Hussein intensified the struggle with the help of British arms and money. Eventually their revolt succeeded and the Arab Nationalists laid down a comprehensive Protocol called the Damascus Protocol. In the Protocol, the Nationalists demanded the guarantee of Arab independence between the Mediterranean and the Persian gulf and from the northern frontier of Syria to the Indian ocean.

When the Turks were defeated in First World War, the Arabs had high hopes of realising their ideal of Freedom. But Britain went back against its earlier assurance and made the Sykes-Picot Agreement with the French in 1916, by which the Arab world was divided between the two powers. The Arab hope of united Arab world shattered to pieces and three mandatory territories, Palestine, Syria Lebanon, and Iraq came into existence. The Arab Nationalists turned sour, became pessimistic and cynical. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the assurance given by the British for a Jewish National State was another state of the British in the back of the Arabs. They stoutly opposed the Zionist programme of the establishment of the Jewish State. However the Israel State came into existence in 1948.

During the Second World War and after Arab Nationalism made steady advance. Egypt became the champion of such Nationalism. The Arab League was firmed comprising of seven independent Arab States. Egypt, Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Transjordon. But the League is torn by internal feuds. Its weakness was boldly brought out in the wars with Israel. Complete solidarity between all the Arab States is still a distant dream. However the Arab Nationals have become more secular and socialistic. They have political as well as social welfare programmes. They have given up the ideal of complete integration of all Arab States but only wish for closer association between different independent Arab States.

Nationalism in Syria and Lebanon

Syria

Arab Nationalism manifested itself boldly, soon after the First World War. The Arabs tried to establish an independent state at first in Syria. In October 1918, King Feisal entered Damascus with an Arab army and established a government for Syria. People hailed him as the leader of the Arabs and the symbol of the resurgent Islam. Feisal assured them that he would secure full freedom for Syria and won their hearts by appointing only Syrians in civil service. He attended the Peace Conference, held after the war and pleaded before the big powers, for complete independence of Arab States. But there were others who merely wanted partial independence under French mandate. Feisal suggested an inquiry commission to be sent to Syria to ascertain the wishes of the people. The Peace conference accepted his idea. But as Britain and France refused to join the commission, only the American members went to Syria under the leadership of King and Crane. Feisal organised an All - Syrian Congress in July 1919, which passed a series of resolutions and placed them before the King - Crane Commission. The resolutions demanded complete independence for Syria, with Feisal as its constitutional monarch. They condemned the idea of establishment of a French mandate in Syria and a separate state for the Jews. The commission accepted those demands, and made its recommendations accordingly to Britain and France.

But Britain and France refused to listen to the advice of the Americans and partitioned the Arab States among themselves, as per their war - time Agreement of 1916. According to that agreement the coastal strips of Syria were handed over to the French. The hinterland was under the rule of Feisal. The French offered Feisal partial autonomy under their suzerainty. But the Syrian Congress of 1920 declared complete independence of Syria, Palestine and Lebanon under the constitutional monarchy of Feisal. The French were not prepared to accept it. An Allied Supreme

Council met in 1920, at San Remo and legalised the partition of the Fertile Crescent among the two big powers of Britain and France. Syria and Lebanon were assigned to France while Palestine and Iraq went to Britain as mandated territories

The people of Syria denounced the San Remo scheme and indulged in a rebellion against French. But the disorderly array of rebel troops were soon scattered away by the disciplined army of the French. King Feisal was expelled and the French authority was firmly established at Damascus by July 26th, 1920. The Syrian Nationalists however continued their struggle for freedom by fits and starts. The French imperialists, like their British partners in India, tried to stifle Syrian Nationalism by adopting a policy of divide - and - rule. They divided Syria into four separate states and played them one against the other by granting more privileges to Lebanon than to the other three states. But even then the disaffection between the rulers and the ruled continued, resulting in frequent clashes between them.

The French alienated the sympathies of the Syrians by neglecting their commerce, while promoting their own trade, by introducing into Syria their own depreciated paper currency, by denying the Syrians high posts in the government and by trying to assumilate the Syrians into French Civilization. Owing to all these factors an uprising arose at Druz in 1925, which soon spread itself all over Syria. The rebels occupied the whole of Lerant except Lebanon. Even Damascus was captured by them. But the French by their superiority in arms ultimately suppressed the rebellion. But they became more conciliatory owing to the native resistance to their rule. In May, 1926, a constitution for the Lebanese Republic was promulgated. Syria was allowed to frame a constitution of its own through an elected constituent assembly. But, when a liberal consitution after the French model was suggested, the French rejected it and promulgated their own constitution in 1930, for the four regions of the French mandate. Though the constitution was accepted without demur in the

beginning, soon there arose bitter opposition to it all over the country. The French attempt in 1933, to conciliate the rebels by a treaty, ended in failure. In 1936, another rebellion brokeout. The Liberal ministry under Leon Blum, in France took a sympathetic view of the uprisings and signed a compromise treaty with the Nationalists. According to that treaty. Syria was to become independent within three years and was to be admitted into the League of Nations. France was to maintain air bases in Syria and French military instructors were to remain in Syria to instruct the Syrian army. A similar treaty was signed with Lebanon also in November 1936. The Nationalists were allowed to contest the elections and enter the legislature.

During the Second World War, the French High Commissioner in Syria, suspended the constitution and appointed council of Directors to rule the country under his advice. Nationalists opposed the military rule. When France was defeated in the war, the British and French troops came and occupied Syria and Lebanon in 1941, lest they should fall into the hands of German. For two years they maintained their authority over those two regions precasiously. Ultimately General De Gaulle recognised their independence, from June 1, 1944. After the conclusion of the war all the British and French troops were withdrawn from the Levant. Syria became a sovereign republic. In order to realize their dream of a United Arab State, the Syrians entered the Arab League in 1958. But owing to differences with Nasser, the Primier of Egypt and the Prime mover of the Arab Federation, Syria broke away from the union in September 1961.

Lebanon

Lebanon, is very poor in natural resources but economically, it is very prosperous owing to the talents of the people who are good at commerce and business. Its population is mixed, consisting of both Muslims and Christian of whom the latter are in a slight majority. From the outset the Lebanese were pro - French

and therefore they were treated with a certain amount of liberality by the French. A republican constitution was granted to it in 1926. But the French High Commissioner was supreme and controlled the executive as well as the legislature. In 1930's Lebanon became a victim to the great Depression in the economic field. There was acute unemployment in the country and a nation while strike suffocated the economy. The constitution of 1926, was suspended and a new constitution was promulgated in 1934, by which an authoritarian government was established. In 1936, when the French entered into a treaty with Syria, they entered into a similar treaty with Lebanon also. Independence and membership in the League of Nations were promised within three years, while French troops were to be retained in Lebanon. But the terms of the treaty were not put into practice owing to the disturbed situation in the world. Then began the Second World War and when the French were defeated by Germany, Lebanon's independence was recognized by the Free French government under De Gaulle in 1944. It became an independent Republic. Though the Muslims wanted Lebanon to join with Syria, and establish an United Arab Republic, the Christians successfully resisted such a move. The Suez crisis in 1956 led to political turmoil and the subsequent American military intervention. Lebanon thus became more pro - American and pro - West than all other West Asian countries.

Nationalism in Iraq and Jordon

Iraq

Iraq is the land between the twin rivers of Tigris and Euphrates and was originally known as Mesopotamia (middle region). It came under the British mandate in May 1920, according to the Sam Remo Treaty between Britain and France. The Iraq is objected to the very idea of mandate and started a rebellion against the British. But it was ruthlessly suppressed by British Government. Sir Percy Cox, was sent to Iraq as High Commissioner to restore order. He ruled the country with the help of a puppet

cabinet of Arab ministers headed by the old and infirm Naqib of Baghdad. But real power was vested with the High Commissioner who controlled the foreign affairs and defence of the country. He had the power to veto any resolution of the cabinet. Therefore the Nationalists were very much dissatisfied and carried on their against British. They declared complete independence as their goal.

In April 1921, Mr. Churchill the then colonial secretary of Britain, summoned a conference in Cairo, to settle the affairs in Iraq. Sir Thomas Lawrence, a friend of the Sheriff of Mecca took a leading role in the conference. According to his advice, a British protectorate was established with Abdullah and Feisal (the two sons of Sheriff Hussein) as Kings of Jordon and Iraq respectively. The Nationalists of Iraq refused to be reconciled with the British arrangements. They clamoured for the complete withdrawal of the mandate from Iraq, and indulged in riots. The British Government took severe measures to suppress the aspirations of the people. As a protest against their repressive policy, the cabinet of Naqib resigned Thereafter the British advisors assumed direct control of the entire administration. Even the semblance of autonomy was withdrawn. The British control over the destinies of Iraq, was confirmed by the Anglo - Iraq. Treaty which was imposed in 1922. According to it, the British had the ultimate authority in the financial matters and foreign affairs of Iraq. They reserved with themselves the right to protect the foreigners in Iraq, to train the Iraq army and to appoint advisors to the government. The treaty was accepted under pressure by a Constitutent Assembly on March 1924. The Britsh declared that they would try the best to secure the membership of Iraq in the League of Nations and promised to terminate their mandate over country as soon as it got into the League.

In 1925, a major portion of Mosul a strategic territory occupied by the Kurds was assigned to Iraq by the League council. It strengthened British position in the Middle East. Owing to the continued agitation of the Nationalists the British

contol over financial and military affairs was relaxed by revirng the Anglo - Iraqu Treaty in 1926 and 1927. In 1930, thesieaty was finally revised. According to it, Britain confirmed its trtention of supporting Iraq's admission to the League of Nations in 1932 and the termination of British mandate by the same time. However Britain retained its control over Iraq's foreign relations and the right of moving its troops across Iraq. The treaty was to be held valid for 25 years. On October 3, 1932 Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations, and it became independent from the same-date. Even after independence Britain was exercising considerable control over the affairs of Iraq.

King Feisal died in 1933, and was succeeded by his unworthy son Ghazi, owing to his weakness was overthrown in a military coup d'etat in 1936. Ghazis infant son Feisal II followed and the actualrule was in the hands of the regents Emir Abdullah. During the World War II, a cabinet crisis arose and one Rashid Ali a pro - German seized the power with the help of the army. He prevented the British from sending their troops across Iraq and therefore clashed with them in 1941. He was finally defeated and a pro - British government was established. Nurial said, a strong man in the Legislature of Iraq wielded real power. Under his guidance Iraq signed the Arab - League pact. In 1947, the British tried to revise the Anglo - Iraq treaty but failed. Nuri was pro - British and pro - Western and therefore included Iraq in the Baghdad Pact, sponsored by U. S. A. to stem the tide of Russian influence in the Middle East. However in 1958, he and the Emperor were overthrown by a coup and a republic was established with Abdul Karim as the first Prime Minister.

Jordon

Jordon, originally known as Transjordan is situated along the eastern bank of the Jordon river. Its people are the Bedouins, who are noted for their nomadic habits. Its economy is mainly based on agriculture and sheep-farming and is very backward. It formed part of the Arab Syrian State and was under the rule of King Feisal. After the fall of Feisal,

the British took over the entire administration of Jordon, as a mandatory power. In 1921, Emir Abdullah, elder brother of Feisal was made the Ruler of Jordon. In September 1922 it was declared as an independent Arab principality, under British mandate. In 1923, it was recognized as an autonomous state ruled by Emir Abdullah, who was expected to rule the country in a constitutional manner. British obligations to Jordon, as a mandatory power was also specified, when Britain acquired Aqaba, a Red Seaport in 1925, its position in the Middle East was strengthened. In 1928 Britain entered into another treaty with Jordon by which the independence of the latter was recognised. But it reserved the right to maintain soldiers in the country and so control its fiscal and foreign policies. A legislative council with advisory powers was also created. The mandate ended in 1946 when Britain recognized the full independence of Jordon. But it still retained the right to keep the British troops in the country till 1968 in return for British assistance against foreign invasion. It also enjoyed the right to supervise the Arab Legion. In 1947, by new constitution parliamentary system of government was established. The next year the Emir was proclaimed as king of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordon.

During the World War II, the Arabs Legion fought in the Iraqi and Syrian campaigns. The Legion got some victories during the Palestine war of 1948. As a result Jordon got some more territory. But a new problem arose when 400,000 palestinian refugees took asylum in Jordon. The refugees were more advanced than the Bedouins and began to question the authority of the King of JorJon. One of the refugees, shot King Abdullah to death on July 1951. After Abdullah's death, the Government of Jordon collapsed. Jabar the son of Abdullah ruled for some time. He was deposed in 1952 owing to his mental illness and his minor son Hussain was proclaimed King of Jordon. He followed a policy of friendship with the Western Powers especially U. S. A. and Britain, with whose aid he was

able to maintain his power. However the political life of the country was dominated by the attempts of three groups - the

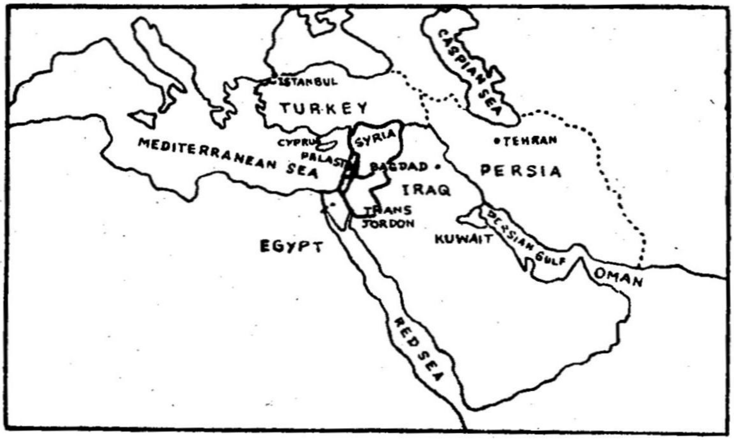


Fig. 22 . 5 The Middle East after Versailles

Palace, the army and Palestinian refugees to seize power The country is assailed by plots and counter plots by the army and the Nationalists.

Israel Nationalism

The Jews were an ancient people, whose civilization ranked among the famous ancient civilizations of the world such as Egyptian and Sumerian. They established a state for themselves in Palestine by 1100 B. C. But from the 6th century B. C. onwards misfortune began to haunt them. Their homeland came under foreign domination and was ruled by the Persians, Egyptians, Syrians and finally the Romans, in succession. The Romans were so irritated against the continued resistance of the Jews to their oppression rule, that they mercilessly devastated their land during the First Century A. D. A. large number of Jews were butchered and their property was looted. The

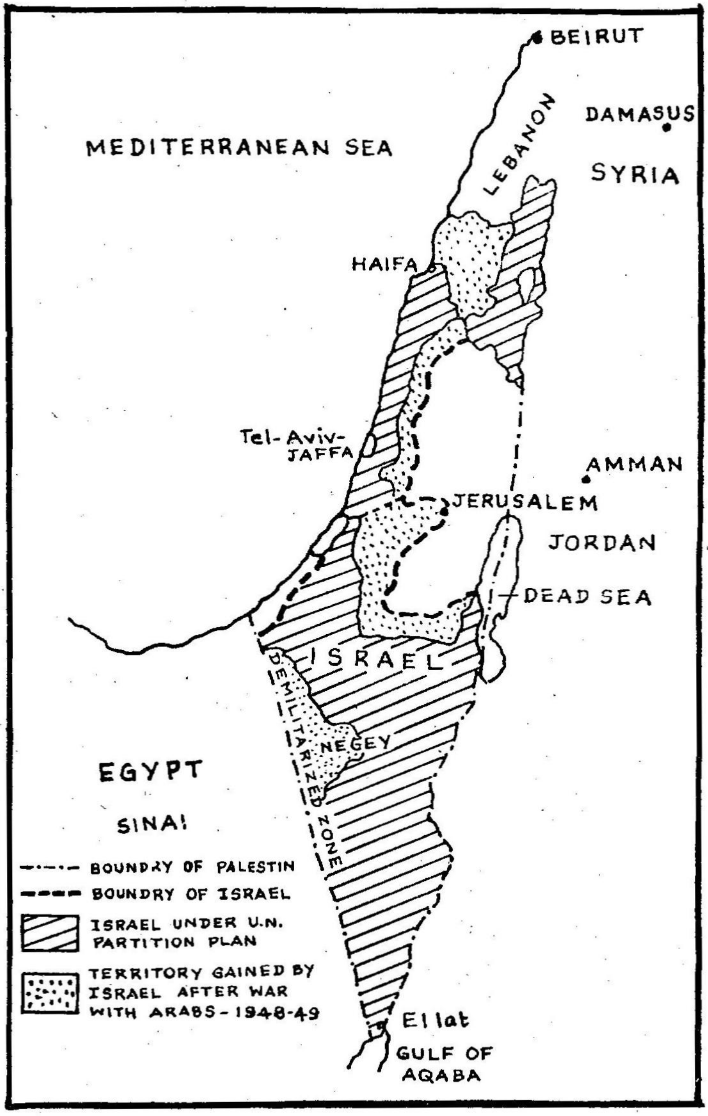


Fig. 22 . 6 The Partition of Palestine

remaining Jews, got so frightened of the Roman rule, that they left their homeland for good and ran away to far off lands. From that time, to 1948 when an independent Israel State was born, these luckless people, wandered from place to place, only to be despited, tortured and persecuted whereever they went. During their absence, Palestine became part of the Arab empire and later on the Turkish Empire.

Zionism

The Jews; though they were dispersed all over the world, never forgot their homeland and dreamt of returning there one day or other. They had a culture of their own and kept up their district traditions wherever they went. Owing to their superior intelligence they rose to high positions and became very wealthy in the countries of their adoption Since they refused to assimilate themselves with the local people, they became objects of contempt and persecution. Such privations in foreign lands naturally intensified their desire for a seperate state exclusively for themselves. Since they were a very religious people they wanted to back to Jerusalem the holy city of the ancient Jews and reestablish their Israel State in Palestine. A movement arose for the restoration of Palestine to the Jews and the establishment of an independent Israel State there. Zionism is the name given to such a movement. It is derived from the word 'Zion', one of the names of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The idea of Zionism was first mooted by a Russian Jewish doctor named Leon Piansker in 1882. The persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania led to the foundation of an organisation known as 'Hoveve Zion' at Odessa. Many Jews migrated to Palestine and established colonies, therein. The torture to which the French Jews were subjected made Theodor Herzl an Austrian Jew, to start the Zionist movement at Paris. It received tremendous support from the Jews of Europe who organised the first Zionist Congress at Basel, Switzerland in 1867. The Congress declared that its ultimate goal was to establish by public law, a home for the Jewish people in Palestine. At first the movement

was not welcomed by all the Jews. The orthodox Jews felt that only by divine intervention they should get back their homeland and were averse to any political agitation for that purpose. The spirit of Nationalism was conspicuously absent among them. But slowly the movement gathered momentum and before the first World War it had a great following all over Europe. It tried to bring pressure on the Sultan of Turkey for the establishmert of a Jewish Settlement Company in Palestine. But the Sultan refused to listen to such a proposal. The British offered them a settlement in Uganda. But the Zionist Congress refused the offer. For them, Zionism without Zion was a body without the soul.

During the First World War, there were two groups of Zionists, one functioning in Germany and another from Britain. The group at London was headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and actively supported the Allies in their war effort. In return, they wanted the Allies to commit themselves to the creation of a Jewish National State in Palestine, as soon as Turkey was defeated. In response to Jewish support to the Allied cause, the British Government issued the famous Balfour Declaration in 1917, which clearly promised all help to the Jews in the creation of a national home for them in Palestine, without at the same time endangering the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Arab people living in the region. The Declaration was acclaimed and approved by U. S. A. France and Italy. Though the Declaration was rather ambiguous, it gave a great impetus to the Zionist movement. Their goal was now definite and they began to work incessantly towards the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

The Allies in their anxiety to win the support of the Arabs of Palestine during the war had also assured them of freedom from the Turks. The Arabs thought that after the war, they would be allowed to establish an independent state for themselves in Palestine, with the Jews under their protection, while the Jews believed that an independent Israe State

would be created in Palestine. Thus the Allies were guilty of making contradictory pledges to both the Jews and Arabs, thus leading to a conflict between the two groups of people inhabiting Palestine.

Inspired by the Balfour Declaration Jews in large numbers began to migrate into Palestine. But the Arabs resented it, and in a conference held at Damascus in 1919, they expressed their disapproval of the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine and immigration of Jews in any part of their Country. The King Crane Commission also warned the Allies of the dangers of creating a home for the Jews in Palestine. The San Remo Conference which allocated Palestine to Britaln as a mandatory territory recognised the Zionist organization as a Jewish representative body in Palestine and asked the British Government to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. In 1922, the League of Nations confirmed Britain as a Mandatory power in Palestine and urged it to make all efforts for the establishment of a Jewish National home. The Arabs stoutly denounced such pro-Jewish statements and indulged in anti Jewish demonstrations. Winston Churchill the Colonial Secretary, tried to pacify them by issuing a white paper wherein he assured the Arabs that the whole of palestine would not be handed over the Jews though a portion of it might be given to them.

The Jews formed only ten per cent of the Palestinian population in 1922, but slowly it increased owing to large scale immigration of Jews and in 1942 it was 31%. The Arabs hated them not only because of their religious differences but also because of economic factors. The rich immigrant Jews bought much of the land in Palestine and made the Arab Peasants a set of landless labourers who were mostly unemployed. Further they thought that the creation of a Jewish State in a predominantly Arab area would hinder all chances of establishing a United Arabs State covering all the Arab speaking States. Therfoeje

they often indulged in anti - Jewish riots. The British tried in vain to pacify them by various proposals. They suggested in 1937 the partition of Palestine into 3 regions, one belonging to the Arabs, the other to the Jews and the third around Jerusalem under the British rule. The Arabs flatly refused this suggestion. In 1939, it convened a round table conference of Arabs and Jews at London but it ended in failure owing to mutual antagonism and a rigid posture by both the groups. After failure Britain issued a white paper promising an independent state of Palestine after 10 years. It also restricted Jewish immigration.

During the Second World War the Arabs kept their neutrality while the Jews actively helped the War efforts of the allies. The Jewish gesture created a strong public opinion in U. S. A. in favour of the Zionist movement. President Truman requested the British Government to allow into Palestine a lakh of Jewish immigrants. But the Labour Party in Britain, though well disposed towards the Jews, did not want to antogonize the Arabs whose support was necessary for its maintainenance in the Middle-East. Therefore it hesitated to give a green signal to the proposal of Truman. Its delaying tactics, disappointed the Jews who began, to indulge in terroristic activities. British Government finding itself at a loss to find a solution to the Palestinian problem, at last referred the question to the U. N. O. on April 2,1947.

The United Nations General Assambly appointed a eleven man and a commission to study the Palestinian question and suggest a remedy. The commission submitted two alternative proposals, According to one, Palestine was to be divided into three parts namely an Arab State, a Jewish State and an international regime for Jerusalem, all linked together into an economic union. The other proposal was to have a Federal State in Palestine with two states Arab and Israel, with Jerusalem as its capital. The Assembly accepted the first proposal in 1947 and recommended the partition of Palestine

into three regions. The Arabs rejected the whole scheme and clamoured for a Unitary Arab State with safeguards for the Jewish minority. Meanwhile Britain announced its decision to end its mandate on Palestine from May 15, 1948. Accordingly on May 14, 1948 it Officially terminated its mandate and on the same night the Jews proclaimed the creation of an independent Israel State in Palestine, as suggested by the U. N. O.

Israel became an eye-sore to the Arabs. They could never reconcile themselves with the phenomenon of a sovereign Israel State amidst number of Arab States. Armies from five Arab States invaded Israel. But the tiny Israel scored a notable victory over them. The mediatore count Bernadote of Sweden sent by the U. N. O. was murdered by a Jewish fanantic. After several clashes the Arab States entered into a truce with Israel in 1949, by which except for a few strips of land, the major portion of Palestine went over to the Jews. But the Arabs again tried to wipe out Israel from the Middle East. In 1956, when Britain and France invaded Egypt. Israel also joined them and attacked Egypt. But owing to Russian intervention Israel had to give back all the conquered territories.

Nasser the president of Egypt attempted to crush Israel in 1967, but was badly beaten. In the so called six days war, Isreal had captured jordanian Jerusalem, and the height of Syria. She had occupied the whole of the west bank of the Jordon and the whole of Sinai Peninsula. Since then Israel has been called to give up all her conquests. The American President and others try their best to reconcile the Arabs with the Israel State. But no permanent accord between them, has been established so far. The Arab refugees in Palestine organized into the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) are often indulging in guerilla warfare aginst the Israel State. Their demand for a separate state for themselves has not been accepted by the Jews, through the U. N. O. has recognized the PLF as the spokesman of the Arabs

in Palestine. President Sadat of Egypt under the guidance of President Carter of U. S. A. has been trying his to enter into a friendly treaty with Israel. Hostility has ended between the two countries. But disagreements between them loom large in various other political issues.

Chapter XXIII

African Resurgence

In the twentieth century a wave of Nationalism and anti-colonialism swept through the whole length and breadth and gave rise to the emergence of a number of independent states. In 1945 there were only four independent states, in the whole of Africa. In 1965 the number increased to thirty five. The rapid transformation of the major part of Africa from dependence to independence within such a short time is one of the marvels of History. It was natural result of the decline of European imperialism after the first world war, the rise of colour consciousness throughout the world and the rise of modern African nationalism.

African nationalism is not the same as European Nationalism based on common culture, language and fired frontiers. It came as a reaction against European imperialism based on white supremacy. Externally it stands for the abolition of relationship between Europe and Africa as between superior and inferior countries. Internally it seeks to uplift the cost of the Africans. In short it aims at bringing about in Africa political independence, a cultural renaissance and economic progress.

Unlike European Nationalism, African Nationalism is not keen on the establishment of national-states. In fact, the colonial powers were responsible for the creation of political units within definite geographical territories. Therefore the African who fought for their freedom in a particular region, always considered it as part of a struggle for the emancipation of the whole of Africa from colonialism. Thus Pan-Africanism is one of the main strands in modern African Nationalism. This spirit was at first inspired among the people by the American black leadar Dr. W. E. E. Du Bois, who founded the National Association for the advancement of the coloured people. Mr. Marcur Aurelius Garvey a Jamaican

was another black leader who fanned the spirit of African Nationalism by his campaign before the First world war for 'Back to Africa'. African leaders held Pan-African congresses at various places. The first congress was held in London in 1900. During the early congresses the discussion centred on two different ideals, equality of rights for the Blacks and the whites, profounded by Du Bois and the establishment of sovereign states with pure black races as expounded by Garvey. The sixth Pan - African congress was held in 1945. Later leaders of Africa such as Nkrumah Kenyatta attended the congress while the earlier congresses were dominated by American Negroes, the 1945 conference consisted mainly of Africans. It was in this conference complete independence was demanded for Black Africa. It was proposed that in order to achieve their freedom, they must adopt first of all non - violent measures like the Indians and use violence only as a last resort. During the post - war period exiles from various countries returned to Africa and started political parties to fight for freedom and bring pressure on colonial governments to grant political freedom by instalments. Though they desired to adopt western ideals of liberal democracy to achieve economic prosperity, they preferred a sort of one party rule based on socialistic ideals, to achieve quick progress.

Nigeria

Nigeria is a land of bewildering variety, with about 150 different tribes, following Islam, Christianity and tribal religions. With a vast land area and a population of 55 million. it is one of the most prominent of African States. It was under the British rule till 1960, when it became independent.

Before independence Nigeria consisted of three regions, protectorate of Northern Nigeria, protectorate of Southern Nigeria and Western Lagos. In 1914 these three areas were united into one country, the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. In 1939 the Southern protectorate was divided into two parts, the eastern and western, with the Niger river as the boundary. By 1945, these three regions had almost become three separate self - governing regions, with their own distinct culture. The Northern region

has a Muslim culture while the southern region has both the Christian and tribal cultures. The major tribal groups occupying these areas are also different, the Hause Fulani in the North, the Yoruba in the West and Ibo in the East. Then there were also a number of minor tribal groups in each region. The official languages also differed from region to region, Hausa in the North and English in the South.

Only in the 20th Century, Nigeria came to be modernised and westernised a little. Money economy replaced the traditional barter system. Trade and Commerce prospered and a number of cities arose, especially in the South. The town - dwellers became very rich and gave western education to their sons. These western educated youngmen formed the nuclear around which the National Movement slowly grew. A number of associations were founded which cut across tribal boundaries. The Nigerian Union of Teachers founded in 1931 was one of the important associations. A great eader called Zik or Azikieve arose in Nigerian politics and gave these associations a new direction and a definite goal.

Zik was born in 1904 in Zungeru in the Eastern Ibo region. His father was an Ibo clerk who resigned his job after being consulted by a young British officer. This incident left a deep impression on the mind of young Zik. He was educated in mi sionary schools and then worked as a government clerk till 1925, when he went to the United States. There he supported himself by performing odd jobs during leisure hours and earned a degree at Howard University. Then he joined the Lincoln University as a teacher and completed his post graduate work. In 1934 he returned to his country and in 1935 became the editor of a paper called Accra, African Morning Post in Western Africa. He went to Nigeria in 1937, and set up his own paper, the famous West African Pilot. Through his paper he was spreading the ideal of Pan - Africanisan and sent the clarion call to the Africans to end their narrow tribalism and fight for their freedom from the tyranny of the white Man. His writings stirred the national consciousness of the educated youth of Nigeria, who organized themselves into the

Nigerian Youth Movement, dominated by H. O. Davies, a graduate of the London school of Economics. In 1938 this movement produced the famous Nigerian Youth Charter which asked all the Nigerian races to join together and fight for equal partnership within the British Commonwealth. The movement which started first in the Yoruba region slowly spread to the whole of Nigeria. In 1938, it had 10,000 members in 20 provincial branches. But soon bickerings arose between the various tribal groups, which made Zik to withdraw his support to it.

Nigerian nationalism was stimulated very much during the second world war. The Nigerian students who were studying in U. S. A. at that time were much influenced by the democratic and anti - imperialist ideals which were widely propagated during that period. The bitter racial discrimination which they experienced during their stay in U. S A. further intensified their national spirit. They felt keenly the necessity of having a sovereign negro state for themselves and joined the nationalist movement when they returned home. They and their followers told the people how the whites were exploiting their country, by buying up the entire cocoa, palm oil, rubber, cotton and ground - nut and denying all opportunities to Nigerian producers and traders. Moreover the presence of a large number of white soldiers in the country and their vulgar and rude behaviour towards the natives produced a sense of revulsion against the white rule. The Nigerians who served abroad and returned to their native land began to compare the standard of living in their own country with those of others and concluded that foreign rule was responsible for their low standards. Gradually they began their protests against the British government.

Azikiwe, the National leader founded a nationalist party known as National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N. C. N. C.) which proclaimed that self-government for Nigeria, within the British Commonwealth was its goal. The Nationalist demand was conceded party in 1945, when the British government gave to Nigeria a constitution called the Richards Constitution. It provided for three regi-

onal Houses of Assembly and a single Legislative Council, for the whole of Nigeria, to be elected by the regional assemblies. The N. C. N. C. the youth Movement, the Yorubas all joined together in attacking the regional nature of the Richards Constitution. Only the Northern region welcomed it.

During the post-war years Azikiwe's popularity reached the highest point. The working class, the lower middle class of teachers and artisans, the youth and the leaders of various national associations acclaimed him as their leader. In 1948 the British tried to pacify the Nigerian Nationalist sentiments by promising another constitution which would give them greater share in administration and education. Macphersow, the Governer, proclaimed a constitution in 1951. The Macpherson Constitution provided for a Central House of Representatives, in which 64 seats were reserved for the North and 34 for the East and West. The council of ministers was to consist of four ministers drawn from each region. This constitution only intensified the growth of regionalism. The Yorubas of the West and the Ibos of the East became more and more self-centred and under the cover of Nationalism they simply tried to promote their own narrow tribal interests. The N. C. N. C. despite its Pan-Nigerian ideals became out and out an Eastern organisation. In the North a separate party known as Progressive Political Party arose and mobilised the North against the South. In this spirit of rivalry between the various regions the constitution of 1951 was being worked out. In the Federal legislature there was a preponderance of the north over the other provinces in membership. Therefore the other regions were not happy about the new constitution and its working. However the British government declared that independence would be granted to Nigeria if its Federal Assembly to be organized after the 1959 selections declared in favour of it. Accordingly independence was granted on 1st October, 1960. In 1963 Nigeria became a republic with Dr. Azikiwe as President and Alhaji Abubakar as Prime Minister.

But very soon narrow regionalism began to show its ugly head in Nigerian Politics. During the 1964 General Elections it was quite rampant. Owing to rigging and corruption the party in power managed to succeed everywhere against the other opposition parties. Democracy became a mockery in most of the constituencies. Riots broke out in the Western Region and about 2,000 persons were murdered in the last five months of 1965. Such a situation led to the military coup of 1966. The army took over the government and the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the Primiers of Western and Northern regions were murdered. Only the Prime Minister of the Eastern region was spared since Archbishop Makarious of Cyprus was staying with him. The military government was headed by Major-General Aguyi-Ironsi, an Ibo. In 1966 he announced that the Federation had come to an end and Nigeria was a republic divided not into regions but provinces. This announcement led to riots and war between different tribes, in which Ironsi and his supporters were murdered. Colonal Yakabu Gowan, a Northern leader became the supreme-commander. But again tribal warefare began and thousands of Ibos living in North Nigeria were murdered. Therefore the Ibos of the East declared independence in 1967. A new sovereign state called Biafra was established. Soon civil war arose between Biafro and the central government, which raged for three years until 1970.

Ghana

Ghana, known as Gold Coast, was a British colony in Western Africa, before it became independent. It is also a land of great geographical and political diversity. It consisted originally of four distinct regions the Gold Coast, the colony of Ashanti, Northern Territory, and Togoland. Gold Coast as the name itself implies is rich in gold while Ashanti which originally had a thrilling slave trade has now become a new cocoa producing region.

A colonial governor controlled the political affairs off the four areas. He ruled with the help of an Executive Council made up of officials, who represented all the four areas. The Legislative Council in Gold Coast Colony consisted of offical members as well as non - offical members (African and European). Native chiefs were ruling over the various regions under the control of the British governor. When Guggisberg a liberal minded governor (1919-27) tried to introduce elected African Councillors in the local government by the Municipal Corporation Bill (1924), it was fiercely opposed by the native chiefs who feared that it would result in the reduction of their powers. The people opposed it, owing to the fear that they might be called to pay more taxes. The Bill was eventually withdrawn. A new constitution was introduced in 1925, in which provision was made to include members in the legislative council Nine Africans were to be elected of whom six were to be elected from provicial councils of chiefs. Dr. Aggrey, the National leader, cristicised the constitution strongly on the ground that it would confirm the powers of the traditional chiefs.

The second world war helped the growth of nationalism in the Gold Coast. Consumer goods became scarce and the people considered the British responsible for it. The farmers of the country side became much dissatisfied owing to the occurrence of a deadly disease in the cocoa trees, which resulted in the destruction on a large scale. The soldiers who took part in the war became dissatisfied with the living conditions in their own native land, which was far below those of other countries where in they served. The gap between the standard of life of the British official and that of the natives appeared to them as unfairly wide. The nationalists wanted more share in the government so that all the ills afflicting them in the economic field could be redressed. They organised a political party called the United Gold Coast Convention. Businessmen like George Grant and lawyers like Dr. Danquah dominated the party.

The British governors tried to pacify the nationalists by liberalising the constitution. Sir Alan Burns, governor of Gold Coast, introduced a new constitution in 1946, by which an elected majority found its place in the legislative council. Of 31 members, 24 were to be African, although 13 of them had to be elected by councils of chiefs.

In 1947, Kwame Nkrumah became the Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (U. G. C. C.). He was educated in the United States at Lincoln and Pennsylvania Universities. Having much influenced by the writings of Azikiwe of Nigeria and Liberals of the west he became a staunch champion of African freedom. His active propaganda fanned the national spirit of the Africans of Gold Coast, who organized a big riot in 1948 in which 29 were killed and 200 injured. The U. G. C. C. leaders were promptly arrested. A commission was appointed under Watson to inquire into the causes of the riot. The Watson Report (1948) discredited the 1946 constitution and recommended a popular government with African Ministers. The Atlee government in Britain appointed a commission under Sir Henley Coussey, a famous judge, to recommend a suitable constitution. Leaders o: U. G. C. C. worked in co-operation with Coussey and produced a constitution. But Nkrumah refused to join the commission and campaigned vigorously for full independence. He started a separate party called Convention Peoples Party (C. P. P.) which became very popular. In the elections held in 1951 according to the new constituion C. P. P. won 34 out of 38 seats in the central legislature. Nkrumah promised the people full employ - ment, free primary education, a national health service and advocated the quick attainment of self - government by 'positive action', a technique which included a nation - wide strike and boycott. Nkrumah was arrested and imprisoned in 1950. The success of his party in the elections of 1951 made the governor Clarke to release him and assume the Leadership of the government. In 1957 the British government granted freedom to the Gold Coast. In March 1957 Ghana was born, the first Black African State to be freed from British control. A medieval empire of sudan was known as Ghana and the Nationalists of Gold Coast gave that name to

their new born republic in order to denote the end of foreign domination.

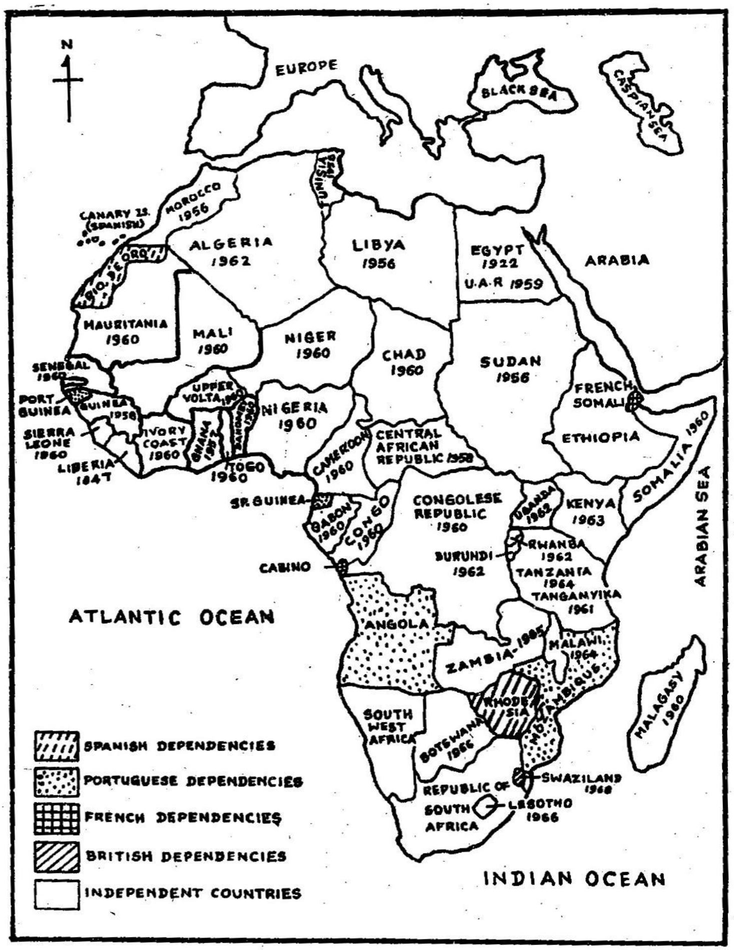


Fig. 23 . 1 Africa in 1967

Nkrumah changed the face of Ghana very rapidly. Within ten years modern gagets such as television, radio and air lines were

introduced in big towns though the rural areas remained backward. In July 1960 Ghana became a republic with Nkrumah as its first President.

In the new Republican constitution there was no room for opposition parties. A single party rule was established in Ghana. Nkrumah tried to promote the economy of his country by adopting a socialistic policy which led to the resignation of three ministers from his cabinet. He then strengthened the powers of the President by giving him power to annul the decisions of the supreme court. He completed the Volta River Project and the Aluminium plant at Jema. Soon he became a sort of dictator. In 1960 he made himself the President of Ghana for his life. He dispensed with elections and began to nominate the members of the National Assembly in 1965. The press itself was owned by the state. All his political opponents' were put into jail. However his personal rule was much hated by the intellectuals of the country. On 24 February, 1966 he was deposed. He had gone to Hanoi through Peking and in his absence the army took over the government. Nkrumah's rule had thus come to a dramatic end.

Tanzania

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa but is sparsely populated owing to lack of water and other facilities. The majority of the people living there are Africans while one percent of the population consists of Europeans and Asians. It is not a rich country like Nigeria or Ghana but luckily possesses racial harmoney which is rare in the other parts of Africa. The mainland portion of this country was known as Tanganyika, which was part of the German Empire before the first world war. After the defeat of Germany in 1918, Tanganyika was transferred to Britain, as a mandated territory. Britain was expected to develop the country socially and economically and finally prepare the people or self-government.

Sir Donald Cameron who was the British governor of Tanganyika during the years 1925-1931, tried to democratise the politics of the country. He created a legislative council and allowed Africans to participate in the law making process. But he did not destroy the traditional set up and allowed the tribal chiefs to have their own method of rule, under the suzerainty of the governor. He also tried to promote education among the natives through the missionaries.

After the world war II, Tenganyika became a trust territory in 1947 under the supervision of the Trusteeship council of the U.N.O. Britain accepted the invitation of the U.N.O. to lead the colony to independence and tried to include more Africans in the government of the country. In 1945 Lord Hailey introduced into Tenganyika what is called 'balanced representation' by which the number of non-official white members of the Legislative council was equal to the number of Asian and African members. The United Nations Commission which visited the country in 1948 criticized the system as one which gave undue superiority to whites who formed only 0. 1 percent of the population. Thereafter the British government tried to give equal representation in the legislative council to each racial group. The new constitution of 1955 allotted 10 members to each of the three main communities and 31 official members. The governor still possessed a lot of powers but the government was much liberalised. Slowly political parties arose in Tanganyika.

During the governorship of Cameron the Tanganyika African Association (T.A.A.) was formed to provide a forum for Africans in urban areas to discuss their problems with the whites on the basis of equality. In 1954 the organisation was further strengthened and was given the name Tanganyika African National Union(T.A.N.U). In 1951 it had only 5,000 members who were mainly goverment employees and teachers. In 1953 Julius Nyerere became its president. He was the son of Chief Nyerere Burite of Wazanaki tribe

and was educated in Missionary schools and in the Edinburgh University in England. He became a teacher in a catholic school after his return from England. After he became the president of T.A.N.U. he resigned his job in 1954 and devoted himself for the development of his country. The U.N.O. in 1955 suggested a phased programme for the attainment of independence for Tanganyika by 1975 or 1985 at the latest. T.A.N.U. sent Nyerere to the Trusteeship council where he pleaded for African majorities of all representative bodies and the introduction of elective principle. Accordingly in 1957, Tanganyika was given a Ministerial system of government with elected legislative assemblies. In 1958 elections were held in which T.A.N.U. contested with other parties like United Tanganyika party and Tanganyika Federal Independent party and came out with large majority. In the elections of 1959 and 1960 also the T.A.N.U. got splendid victories. In 1960 Nyerere negotiated and won responsible government for his country. In December 1961 complete independence was granted to Tanganyika. Forty four days after independence Nyerere resigned from the premiership in order to work for the unity of the racial groups in the country. On 9th December, 1962 Tanganyika became a republic with Nyerere as her first President. Zanzibar came into the union in 1964 and thereafter the state came to be called as Tanzania. Since 1963 membership to T.A.N.U. has been thrown open to Africans as well as Non-Africans.

President Nyerere is a man of vision and pariottism. He is for racial harmony and economic development. He receives aid from countries like China, Britain, Israel and U.S S.R. and seeks to promote industrialization of his country. He always looks forward towards a united Africa and towards a regional organisation consisting of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In 1964 speaking at the organisation of African unity in Cairo, he advocated a common market for Africa, as a step towards evntual unity for the whole of Africa.

Kenya

In East Africa the road to independence was more complex than in West Africa, owing to the smaller and less developed nature of the colonies and the presence of a large European population. In Kenya there was great inequality of income between the Europeans and natives. This inequality acted as a spur to the national movement. In 1946 the Kenya African Union was founded and Thuku became chairman. But Thuku was too moderate and therefore was replaced by Jomo Kenyatta in 1947.

Kenyatta joined the National Kikuyu Association even in his younger days. He twice visited London to present Kikuyu grievances to the British government. While in Britian he took a diploma in Anthropology at the London school of Economics. During the second world war he worked on a farm in Susser and in 1946 he returned to Kenya. He was tall, and imposing and a natural leader of men. Under him the Kenya African Union gained new strength. It wanted more representation in the Legislative council and in civil service. Accordingly the British government nominated six Africans to the Legislative Council of 54 members and one African to the 12 man Executive Council.

At this juncture there arose a tribal violence led by a terrorist group called the Man Mau which aimed at driving away the whites from Kenya. Members of it held midnight meetings in forests and vowed to Kill all Europeans and their black supporters. Till 1952 that British took no notice of the movement. But in 1952 the new governor Sir Evelyn Barring let loose an orgy of violent suppression of the terrorists. Kenyatta and many other nationalists were arrested. In 1953 occurred the gruesome Lari massacre in which whole villages were burnt. By 1955 about 13,000 people were killed and the movement was suppressed. In 1955 the parties which were banned were allowed to come back. In 1956 African representation in the council was raised to eight. But the eight elected black refused to take their

seats unless they were given more seats. Consequently the number was raised to 14. In 1960, in a conference held at London it was agreed to give four positions to the blacks in the council of Ministers and to grant independence in due course. National parties were allowed. Two parties came to the forefront, the Kenya African Union (K. A. N. U.) dominated by Kikuyu and the Kenya African Democratic Union (K. A. D. U.) which was rather moderate. In 1961 elections the KANU got a majority in the legislature. But it refused to form a ministry unless Kenyatta was released. The government gave way and released Kenyatta. Because of KANU's continued agitation Kenya was granted independence in 1963.

Uganda

Uganda, a predominantly agricultural country was a very backward region till the 20th century. There was practically no industrial progress in the country. British attempts to introduce elements of democracy were opposed by the conservative rulers of Buganda. Kabaka the leader of Buganda also opposed the proposed federation of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. He was responsible for uprisings against the British and so was exiled between 1953 and 1955. But the nationalists formed their own parties, fought the elections and entered the legislative and executive council. Uganda Peoples Congress became a very powerful party under Obote. During 1961, a series of conferences were held between the African leaders and the British authority and it was agreed that in 1962 Uganda should become on independent federal state, with Buganda as a part of the federation.

Nationalism in French West and Equatorial Africa

The French considered their colonies in Africa as part of France itself and followed a policy of integration of the black citizens into metropolitan France. The blacks were admitted into the citizenship of France and were allowed to send their representatives to the Paris Assembly. But actually very few

Africans enjoyed citizenship. The colonies were directly administered by French governors. The local chiefs had little authority over the people. The African leaders also were reconciled with the idea of assimilation with the French civilisation till the second world war. During the war, the dictatorial rule of the Vichy regime caused much hostility in the colonies to the French connection. Shortage of food, unemployment, high prices etc caused much discontent among the colonials. Moreover when France was defeated by Germany, the colonies were in a dilemma whether to accept the Free France headed by de Gaulle or the Vichy government at Paris controlled by Germany.

In 1944 General de Gaulle, at a conference at Brazzaville in the French Congo promised representation of the French African colonies in the French legislature. But autonomy was firmly refused. However in 1946, each French territory was given its own local council. A certain amount of local self government was granted. Local assemblies were given control over a number of matters such as local expenditure. African deputies were sent to the French parliament. But out of 622 French deputies in Paris only 13 represented the whole of South West Africa. The electoral system, in which the white citizens and black non citizens voted separately created a lot of discontent.

The African Nationalists, who were disappointed with the above arrangement, organized a party called Reassemblement Democratic African (R. D. A.) This was led by **Houphouet Boigny**, a doctor from Ivory Coast. But the close association of the R. D. A. with the French communists and the demand for complete independence led to its suppression by the French colonial government between 1948 and 1950. In mid 1950s the RDA emerged again having broken its links with Communism. Houphouet decided that a policy of conciliation was wiser and in 1956 he became the member of the French Cabinet. But Leopold Senghor the great national leader in Senegal proclaimed the need for a distinctive African culture rather than complete assimilation with France.

Owing to the influence exerted by leaders like Senghor and Boigny, and the Trade Union movement, the French began to change their policies in 1956. The policy of assimilation and of centralised control from Paris was given up. The idea that all colonial people should become citizens of France was abandoned. The old federation was ended and each territory was accorded its own form of government. The power of French governors was much reduced. Universal suffrage was granted to the Africans. But the African leaders like Senghor of Senegal and Sekou Fourc of Guenea feared that the new policy would lead to the balkanisation of West Africa. There was a debate whehter French West Africa and Equatorial Africa should be organized into two federations which would be linked with France or whether each territory should become an independent state with direct links with France. In 1958 de Gaulle, President of Fifth Republic of France allowed the colonies a choice between immediate independence and full internal self government with in a French Community with a Common defence and external policy. All the colonies except Guinea decided to join the community. Guinea became independent with Sekou. Tane as President. Later on Senegal and Mali joined to form the Mali Federation which became independent in 1959. In 1960 Ivoy Coest, Upper Vorta and Dahomey, under the leadership of Boigny asked for and got their independence. By 1961 all the colonies became independent and fourteen States were formed. All of them were admitted into the U. N. O.

Egypt

Egypt did not escape for wave of Nationalism which swept the Arab and African world during the post - war period. The Egyptian Nationalists were tired of the weakness and corruption of the government of king Farouk and that of the Wafd party. Influenced by the Nationalists, the army also became disloyal to the king. In 1952, a group of young military officers, under the leadership of general Neguib and colonel Nasser indulged in a coup, and seized the power after removing Farouk from the throne. The new military government dissolved all political

parties and tried to abolish all corruption from administration. Land was seized from big landlords and was re-distributed among the landless peasants. The landlords were paid compensation according to the valuation they themselves had given in their tax-returns. Anglo-Egyptian condominium over Sudan war ended by the new government, by an agreement with Britain and self-government was granted to it. In 1955, Sudan declared its independence.

In july 1954 colonel Nasser ousted Neguib from power and became the sole ruler of Egypt. He at once demanded the withdrawal of all British forces stationed in the suez-canal zone. The British government agreed to do so within twenty months. Nasser however agreed to endorse the earlier convention which guaranteed freedom of navigation in the suez-canal. British troops were duly withdrawn from the suez by the end of 1955. Colonal Nasser suddenly went against his own promise made in 1954 and nationalized the Suez-canal in 1956. It was done in retaliation to the policies followed by Britain and U. S. A. The United States offered a big loan to Egypt in 1953 and agreed to support the scheme of Nasser to build a dam across the river Aswan. In 1955, Nasser entered into an agreement with U. S. S. R. to buy military equipment through czechoslovakia. Angered by this action U. S. A., refused all aid for the Dam. British government and the world bank endorsed the decision of U. S. A. It was this refusal of aid to the favourite scheme of Nasser, which made him to nationalize the Suez-Canal. Britain considered it a breach of faith. France was angry with Egypt, because of the support given by her to the Algerian rebellion. Israel was alarmed at the growing militant Nationalion in Egypt. At the connivance of Britain and France, Israel attacked Egypt on 29 October, 1956 and got a splendid victory. Britain and France, jointly declared that if war was not immediately stopped, they would occupy the key positions in the Suez-canal zone. Nasser turned down their ultimatun. Therefore the forces of Britain and France invaded Egypt on 31 October, 1956. At once Nasser

appealed to the security council of the U. N. O. The council ordered for immediate cease - fire. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Soviet Union and Several Asian and African countries condemned aggression on Egypt. The Anglo-French and the Israel forces obeyed the cease - fire resolution of the security council, and withdrew their forces from Egypt.

The whole episode enhanced the fame and name of Nasser. He posed himself as the Champion of Arab Nationalism and talked of the union of all Arab States into one federal state. As a first step towards his ideal, he arranged for the unity between Egypt and Syria in 1958 and called it as a United Arab Republic. It was dissolved in 1961. He lent his support to the Nationalist rebellion in Iraq, under Abdul Kasim el kasseon which led to the overthow of the Hashamite dynasty and establishment of a republic. Nasser, vowed to wipe out Israel from the map of middle East and declared war on Israel. But he was very badly beaten by the superior might of Israel.

Disappointed and disgraced by the defeat, Nazzar died broken hearted soon after the 1967 war. He was succeeded by Sadat as President and in his time also there was war between Egypt and Isreal in 1969. In this war Isreal did not score that resounding victory as she had done in 1967 and took sides against to peace negotiations. Sadat and the Israel primier Begin are seriously trying to find a solution to the problem of peace in west Asia. They have recently been awarded the nobel prize for their genuine efforts towards peace.

North African Nationalism

Arab nationalism spread also to the three muslim states of North Africa, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria which were all under colonial regime of France. Independence movements and anti - French rerbellions rocked these territories during the post - war era. By 1955, the affairs of Tunisia and Morocco were settled amicably by France through negotiations with the Nationalists. It was agreed that control over police, Justice

and education would be transferred to the Tunisians gradually. Similar concessions were granted to Morocco also. But in Algeria, no easy solution was possible. A war of independence arose there in 1954 and went on for eight years. The French had their own vested interests in Algeria. About one million of them had already been settled in Algeria and were enjoying the wealth of the country. The discovery of oil and other mineral resources in Sahara made the French feel that control over Algeria all the more important. Therefore the vested intrests were preventing the French government from relaxing their authority over the colony.

In 1952, Ahmed ben - Bella, the Nationalist leader of Alegeria, established a revolutionary committee at Cairo, with the help of Egypt. From there, the committee was organising terroristic activities in Algeria against the French families settled there, as well as Muslim families which supported the French. In 1955, Ferhat Abbas, who was educated at French became the main spokesman of the Algerian Nationalists. He set up in 1958 a provisional government of the Republic of Algeria, at Cairo. It was recognised by communist China and several other Asian and African States.

The Algerians vexed with the French government which was endlessly postponing any settlement with the Nationalist rebels, ultimately rose in revolt in 1958. Some of the French army chiefs themselves lent their support to the rebellion. General de Gaulle, the then French President suggested a liberal constitution which proposed the grant of self - government to Algeria, within a commonwealth of French African States. But the Algerians rejected the offer and demanded complete independence. By 1960, a dozen former French African colonies were granted independence and were included in the new French community established in Africa. De Gaulle held a referendum in Algeria in 1961, to find out the opinion ot Algerians about its future. People voted in favour of self government outside French control. In 1962, the French government granted freedom to Algeria which became the Algerian Republic with ben - Bella as its first president. In 1965 he was displaced by colonel Boumedienne.

Congo

Congo, situated on the Western portion of South Africa, was under the colonial rule of Belgium for a long time. In the 20th century there arose a number of tribal risings against the alien rule. The Belgian government summoned the congolese representatives to a conference at Brussels, held in the beginning of 1960. As recommended by the conference independence was granted to it in 1960. After elections, Joseph Kasavubu was made President of the Republic of Congo, and Patrice Lumumba became Prime Minister. But owing to the absence of true Nationalism, the different tribes began to quarrel with one another. A mutiny arose in the army and the Belgians sent their troops to quell it. The congolese government appealed to the United Nations for help, for the establishment of order. Accordingly an international force was sent to Congo. One of the provinces, Katanga under its premier Tshombe declared its independence and welcomed Belgian troops. In Leopoldiville, the capital of Congo, tribal warfare created chaos and confusion. Lumumba was arrested by colonel Mobutu of the congolese army. The soviet union supported Lumumba while the western powers lent their support to president Kesavubu. The various tribes were indulging in mutual massacre and outrage. The U. N. O. sent its Secretary General Dag Hammarskgold to act as a mediator. But he could not succeed and he was accused of partiality. Patrice Lumumba was murdered in 1961. Thus uneasy and chaotic conditions marred he new born Republic of Congo from its very inception.

Rhodesia

Rhodesia, named after cecil Rhodas, the great British imperialist who actually created the colony, was under British rule from its inception. In 1923 the British introduced self-government in the colony reserving for itself the power of vetoing racially discriminatory laws. A large number of Europeans migrated into it after the second world war. In 1953, the British established the Central African Federation consisting of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malaur) and Southern Rhodesia. The

Africans opposed the Federation from the beginning. They organised the African congress which sent its delegation to London now and then to present their case to the British. The Africans were denied voting rights and were not allowed to have political organisations. However the African political leaders organized a big revolt against the British in 1959. Riots broke out Nyasaland and federal troops were sent to suppress them. African leaders were arrested everywhere and the African National Congress was banned. Britain sent Lord Delvin to study the situation and report. His report described Nyasaland as a 'Police State' and advocated liberalisation of authority over the colónies. Mr. Macmillan, the British Primé Minister, after a tour all over Rhodesia, recommended the separation of individual states from the federation. He gave them the right to secede and therefore in 1964 Northern Rhodesia became an independent State of Zambia while Nyasaland became the independent state of Malaur, under Dr. Hastings Barde. Southern Rhodesia was not granted independence. But Ian Smith the premier of Rhodesia has formally declared the independence of his country in 1965 and follows a vigorous apartheid policy by which the native Africans are denied voting rights and black majority rule. Its policy has been condemned by the U. N. O. which has asked all other states to practise economic sanctions against it. The Nationalist party called the Zimbabwe African peoples party (ZAPU) is carrying on intermittant guerilla warfare against the racist regime of Ian Smith. The neighbouring African States such as Zambia are rendering all aid to the black liberation movement in Rhodesia.

South Africa

Besides Rhodesia, South Africa is the other country which practises apartheid on a large scale. When the member of British Commonwealth condemned its policy and objected to its membership in the commonwelath, it resigned its membership in 1961. The whites who form only one fourth of the whole population have all the political privileges. They own seven eighths of the lands of South Africa and segregated the natives in separate Reserves where they

are allowed to have their own customs and laws. Dr. Verwoerd, the late prime minister of South Africa and Mr. Bosha the present Prime Minister speak of separate development for Africans in the Native Reserves, which form only one eighth of the whole land. In the other areas, the blacks are denied all political and civil rights and gross discrimination is practised against them. Therefore the Africans are thoroughly dissatisfied with the racist regime and are conspiring all the time to overthrow it. The U. N. O. has condemned the policy of South Africa and has asked its members to boycott it in the economic field. U. S. A., U. K., India etc do not trade with it. But it is able to get arms, ammunitions, oil etc from other European States. It is keeping South West Africa under its control in spite of condemnation by U. N. O. Economically and militarily it is so strong that all other African States put together cannot win a victory over it.

Conclusion

Africa is no longer a 'Dark Continent' as it was once called. It has emerged into a strong continent with a large number of independent states. Except the Portuguese, all the other colonial powers have wound up their imperial shops and made a honourable exit from their erstwhile colonies. Except in S. Africa Rhodesia and a few portugese colonies, Nationalism has triumphed. But democracy is get to take deep roots in the African soil which is full of tribalism and provincialism.

Pan Africanism is making a great headway in Africa. The organisation of African unity (O. A. U.) was set up in 1963 with headquarters at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. It tries to promote the unity of the African States and preserve the sovereign equality for all member states. It provides a useful forum for the discussion of common problems, and settlement of disputes between member states by arbitration.

Africa is a land of great potentialities. When all its resources are tapped, it may become the most prosperous continent of the world. It can be compared to a sleeping giant who has just awakened from his deep slumber. When he begins to manifest his full powers, perhaps all other continents may become more pigmies before him.

Chapter XXIV

Post-War Europe

Welfare State

During the post - war period, a number of European states, moved towards the ideal of the welfare state. People were not satisfied with mere political democracy by which they got the right to vote, freedom of expression, freedom of association etc, but wanted to enjoy social democracy which would ensure them social and economic welfare. Accordingly they wanted the state not merely to safeguard their liberty but also to provide them with full employment and decent living standards. Such a demand arose every where because of the bitter experiences of the war - time and pre - war time Europe. They could never forget the acute unemployment problem which assailed Europe during the 1930s and were determined that this must never be repeated. They also felt keenly the personal insecurity during the war and wanted the state to ensure adequate safeguards against possible dangers to their lives and properties. They wanted the government to enact such new laws as would be necessary to secure them at least the minimum of health, wealth, education etc which are essential for happy and contented living. Countries like Britain, France and Sweden, sympathised with the demands of the people and enacted a series of laws to satisfy them.

Welfare State in Britain

Soon after the war, the conservative government in Britain was replaced by the Labour government. The Labour party, which had a number of social welfare schemes in its election manifest, tried to translate them into practice through the government agency. In 1942, Sir William Beveridge issued his famous report on Social Insurance and Allied services. The Labour government found in it certain sure methods for reorganising the society on a more secure basis. It enacted a series of laws, aimed at the establishment of a welfare state in England.

The National Insurance and the National Health Acts passed in 1946 marked a major step forward towards the achievement of a welfare state They came into force in 1948. Under the new insurance scheme, weekly payments were made to those who were out of Work or unable to work through illness or accident, pensions were paid to the widows of workers, with children, to the aged, and to the disabled; grants were made for expenditure during child birth and funerals. Funds to meet this expenditure were collected. by the State partly through individual contributions from workers and employers and partly through taxation.

The National Health Service, provided free medical and dental treatment for all who wanted it. All the doctors were asked to do this service to the poor people for a nominal fee from the government. The doctors who had roaring private practices, refused to devote their time and energy for a paltry sum, according to the above scheme. They even threatened to go on a strike in 1965. But the government pacified them by issuing the so called "Doctors" "Charter" by which their income was raised to 3000£ a year and a reserve fund was created for their purchase of medical equipment.

Health centres or public clinics were opened in as many places as possible. But they could not meet the growing demands from the people. Therefore even voluntary hospitals were taken over by the state and organised under regional boards. Drugs medicines, dentenes spectacles etc. were supplied free. As the expenditure for such services exceeded all anticipations, the government began to collect some charges from well to do people. But for poor people it was all free . Thus the Labour government provided the people at one stroke security against sickness, unemployment, old age accident and death.

For those who could not make both ends meet in spite of the above facilities, assistance was given by the State according to the National Assistance Act of 1946.

As education is indispensable for the survival of democracy, it was made free and compulsory to all children, according to the Butler Act of 1944. School leaving age was raised to 15.

The labour government also tried to provide the citizens with better and health surroundings and habitations. The Town and country planning Act of 1948, brought all land under the planning authority. No one was allowed to build any house or transfer land without a licence from the Local Authority. Such control was deemed necessary to provide for better living and working conditions for the city dwellers. Green parks and open spaces were provided in the middle of towns so that people could breath pure air and indulge in recreations. In order to protect tenants from being illegally evicted from houses, the protection from Eviction Act was passed. The house owners were safe - guarded from turbulent tenants by the Rent Act. Legislation was made to give a boost to house building in the countryside as well as cities

As population explosion would undo all the welfare measures, steps were taken to limit the population. Family Planning was emphasized and abortion was legalized in 1967. As human life is valuable capital punishment even for murder has been abolished by an Act of 1967.

As the welfare of a Nation depends on actual increase in production rather than on distribution the Labour government tried to step up production by a policy of nationalisation. At first the Bank of England was nationalised. It was then followed by the nationalization of coal industry, gas, electricity and transport. But the bill to nationalize Iron and steel was so much opposed on all sides that it was finally given up.

Thus the Labour government tried its level best to promote the welfare of the people by a series of security measures. Even the Conservative government which came after it could not but continue the ideal of welfare state.

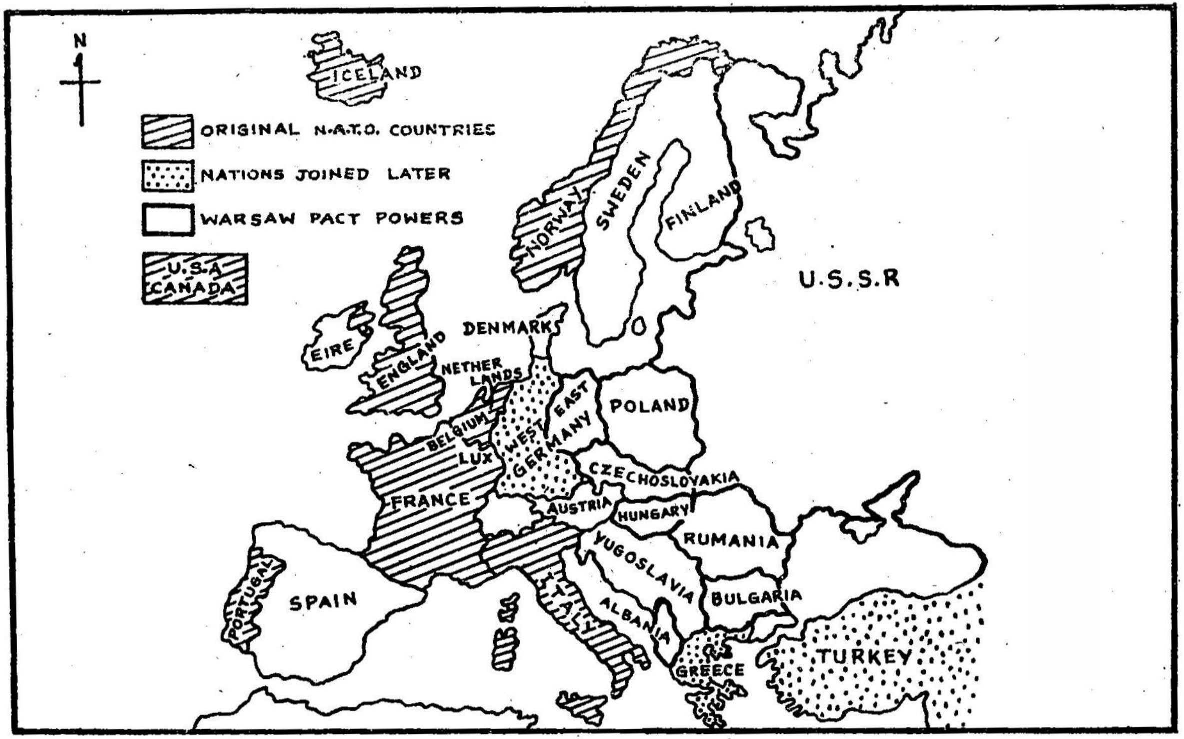


Fig. 24·1 Nato and Warsaw Pack Countries

The other countries of Europe which followed a similar path were France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden and Spain. By1950 it was widely accepted throughout Europe that extremes of wealth and poverty should be avoided by progressive taxation on one side and social welfare programmes on the other.

European Economic Community 1957

One of the most important trends in post-war Europe was a movement towards greater integration of the different states of Western Europe, in the political and economical fields. The ultimate object of this movement was to establish a "United European State" so that there would be no more war between the national states of Europe, especially between France and Germany. Moreover, a strong and united Europe was deemed necessary to resist the threat from communist Russia and to counter balance the strength of the United States and Russia.

Several steps were taken for the realization of the ideal of a united Europe. In 1948 the organisation for European Economic Cooperation was founded with the object of allocating funds for the joint economic recovery from the ravages of war and for the promotion of mutual trade and commerce. In 1949, ten European countries established at Strasbourg a Council of Europe, to achieve a greater unity between its members, and to realize in practice their common ideals and principles. In 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community was formed, under the leadership of France to enforce a common market with no trade restrictions of any sort in the two basic industries of coal and steel. Six countries of Europe joined it, though Britain kept out.

The successful operation of the coal and steel community (ECSC) gooded its member, states to form the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. Six countries that belonged to the ECSC. (i.e.) France, WestGermany, Italy, Belgium Luxembourg and Netherlands signed the Treaty of Rome which established the EEC. The six countries agreed that all trade barriers between them such as customs duties and quotas should gradually be removed.

Towards non-member states, the community would establish common customs tariff and commerial policy. After a transitional period of 10 to 12 years, there would be complete free movement of persons, goods and capital between member countries. Workers and businessmen could live wherever they obtained greater wages or profits. Furthermore there was to be a common agricultural policy. The members declared themselves determined to establish the foundations of an ever closer union among the European peoples. It was their belief that the organisation would increase the habit of working together among European countries in the economic field and eventually lead to political unity so that a united states of Europe would be established in course of time.

The constitution of EEC provides for five main bodies, an Executive Commission, an Assembly, a Court ot Justice, a Secretariat and Euratom. The Executive Commission consists of nine members appointed by the governments of the member states. It is answerable to the Assembly which contains 142 delegates from the parliaments of the six. It has the powers to advise the commission and even dismiss it by passing a vote of censure by a two thirds majority. The first president of the Assembly was Robert Schuman the French statesman. The Court of Justice settles the disputes between member states and the Secretariat assists the working of the various bodies and co - ordinates their activities. The Euratom aims at promoting the nuclear industry by pooling the economic and research resources of the member states.

From the beginning Britain was hesitating to join the EEC, though she took part in the earlier meetings which discussed the setting up of such an organisation. She disliked the supernational authority of the EEC, which would weaken her ties with the United States and Commonwealth with which she had a special relationship. She feared that membership in the EEC would mean abolition of the economic preferences she showed to Commonwealth countries and eventually lead to the disintegration of the Commonwealth itself.

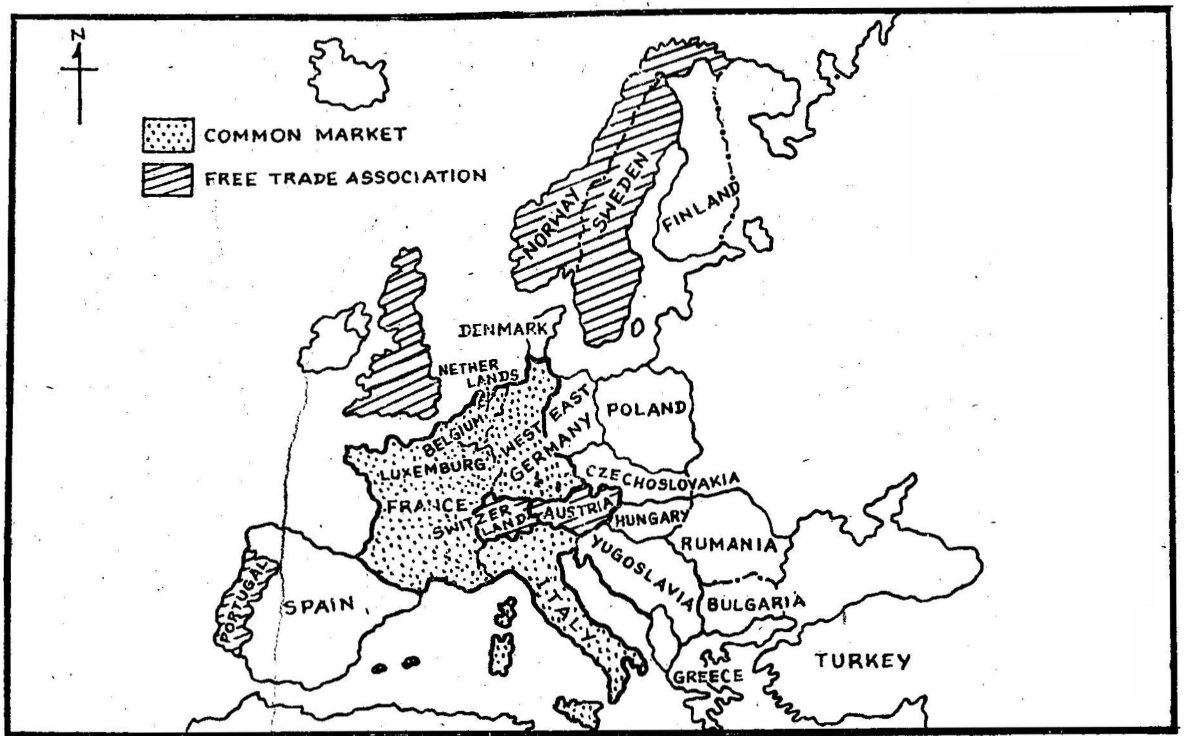


Fig. 24.2 European Common Market

Britain however made two abortive attempts to join the Common market, when she found the growing economic prosperity of its member states. In 1962 Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, tried to reach an understanding with the EEC and join it on certain conditions like maintaining her special relationship with U. S. A. General de Gaulle the French president argued that Britain's connection with the United States would under mine not only the French supremacy in Europe but also the very independence of the EEC, as it might come under American influence. The second attempt was made by Mr. Harold Wilson, the Labour Prime Minister, in 1967. Again de Gaulle vetoed the entry of Britain into the Common Market, referring to British relations with the United States and to Britain's recurring economic troubles. Ultimately she succeeded in joining the EEC after the death of de Gaulle who had been opposing her entry.

The EEC has shown remarkable success in the economic field. Exports from member countries to each other tripled within 10 years, her imports doubled and her exports to non - member countries also doubled. Trade has stimulated industrial growth and in industrial production it is ahead of Britain and equal to United Sates. The Community has established itself as the world's most important trading unit.

The Cold War

The second world war resulted in the emergence of two super powers, the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. which represented the two opposing ideologies of capitalism and Communism. Though they were temporarily united during the world war, in order to suppress a common enemy, they began to drift apart from each other, soon after the war. An atomosphere of suspicion and tension prevailed between them and the States which supported them. The world was split into mutually conflicting and potentially warring blocks. The two big powers tried to perpetuate their own ideologies by supporting rival groups in their own satellite countries. This sort of indirect, ideological conflict between U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. during the post - war period, is usually called as 'Cold War', in order to distinguish it from open and direct armed conflict.

Causes for the old War

The cold war was the direct result of mutual fear among the two big powers that the one was out to wipe out the other from this globe. Especially the Soviet leaders assumed that a hostile capitalist world was out for the destruction of the one socialist state in the world. The assumption dates back, to the days of 1918 - 20, the days when the British, French, American and Japanese tried to suppress the Bolsheviks by supporting their enemies. The Western powers also had sufficient ground to suspect the bonafides of soviet union. Before the beginning of the second world war, Stalin entered into a friendly treaty with Germany, and annexed a portion of Poland, Latvia, Lithuvania, Esthonia and a portion of Rumania. He also attacked and defeated Finland. He tried to extend the Soviet dominion over Turkey and the Persian Gulf. Thus the Western Powers, which had already witnessed the ambition of Soviet Russia, suspected of further Russian expansion, after the war. Mutual suspicion created by the above two events was further intensified by many other incidents. For example, the allies never informed Stalin about the development of atom bomb. They did not open the second front in the west against Hitler, till 1943, in spite of his repeated requests. This made Stalin suspect that they were purposely doing it, in retaliation for what he did during 1939 - 41. During the war Stalin accused the other allies, of negotiating a secret treaty with Hitler, behind his back and of trying to arrange a surrender of the Germans in the West, so that they could move forward and halt the Red Army's advance. Though the accusation was wrong, it reveals Russia's lack of confidence with the other allies.

Another cause of friction between the two big powers was the non- implementation by Russia, of some of the promises undertaken during the war jointly by the allies. In the Atlantic charter of August 1941, Churchill and Roosevelt declared that their countries sought no aggrandizement, territorial or other; they desired to see no territorial changes which did not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; and they respected the rights of all peoples to choose the form of

government under which they would live. These were the war aims of the allies, to which the Soviet Union also gave its accord. Secondly in 1945, at the end of the alta Conference, a declaration was made jointly by Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, in which they pledged themselves to assist the liberated people of Europe to create democratic institutions of their own choice, through free elections. These pledges were cast to the wind by Russia in the case of Poland, which was in many respects the crux of the Grand Alliance. It was agreed that the Soviet Union should keep the part of Poland it had taken in 1939 and that the Poles should be compensated by annexing part of Germany. The Poles with the help of Russia, extended their frontier far to the west along the Oder-Neesse line and about 5 million Germans were expelled from the purely German soil.

This was a gross violation of the Atlantic Charter because the 5 million Germans were not given the opportunity to determine their future. With regard to the organization of the government of Poland also Russia behaved in a high handed manner. It did not recognize the polish government in exile at London but supported the provisional government created by them and established at Lublin. By 1945, after long negotiations the two governments were fused into a coalition. But by censorships and terrorism the non-communist elements in the legislature was reduced to the minimum and ultimately a communist government supported by the Red Army and Soviet Union was established. The soviet promise to allow the Poles to create democratic institutions of their own choice was made a mere mockery. The western powers were simply aghast at this flagrant violation of their war aims. Mr. Churchill in May 1945 told Mr. Truman the then American President that their armies which had gone far into the Eastern Zone, should not withdraw till Stalin carried out his war pledges. But Truman ordered that the armies should withdraw into the zones agreed already. Exploiting this leniency Stalin indulged in a series of actions which brought about the cold war between the two big powers.

Course of the Cold War in Europe (1945-49)

Two periods may be discerned in the course of the cold war: the first from 1945 to 1947, which can be called the transitional period, during which the Grand Alliance broke down; the second from 1947 to 1949, during which the cold war reached its peak. During the first period the Soviet Union followed certain policies and took actions which certainly alienated the sympathies of the western powers. First it pushed its frontiers even farther west than in 1939-41. Secondly it tried to ensure the security on its western frontiers by strengthening its grip on the countries of Eastern Europe. This was done by a slow but sure process of communization of those countries. One by one, they were brought under the orbit of communism. By 1945, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania were ruled by communists. In 1947, Hungary and Poland after a brief spell of democracy, followed the same path. Thus, except Yugoslavia all the other countries of Eastern Europe came under the control of Soviet Union. Thirdly the Soviet Union, against the wishes of the western powers, exacted the maximum reparation from Germany. Fourthly the Russians returned back to their aggresive communism. The soviet leaders were always speaking Russia a single socialist country amidst number of capitalist countries and it should strive every nerve to strengthen and safeguard itself from their potential enemies.

The Americans during the transitional period wanted to return to normalcy both in the military and economic fields and then create an international body to preserve the peace of the world. It began rapid demobilization and fastly withdrew its troops from occupied countries. But, from wherever the armies were withdrawn, tension and friction grew. In Persia, the Soviet government delayed the withdrawal of its troops and tried to set up a communist state in the area under its control. In Turkey the Soviet government demanded for itself the straits territory. In Greece a civil war arose between the Royalists supported by Britain and America and the Communists supported by Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. In Trieste there was tension between communist Yugoslavia and anticommunist Italy. Lastly there arose tension among the allied powers in Germany all along the demarcation line. In the U. N O. the repeated use of the veto power by the Soviet

union, made the western powers grow sullen. The Grand Alliance of the war - period had been irreparably broken by 1947 on the issue of Germany. In the beginning it was agreed that the German unity should be preserved under the joint control of America, Britain and Russia. Accordingly a control commission was established in Berlin. The Americans and Russians tried to pull together. It was agreed that the Soviet Union should receive its war reparations from the industrial plants of West Germany under the control of Britain and U. S. A. while West Germany should receive food from East Germany under the control of the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Government acted in its zone according to its own desire, just as it did in Eastern Europe. It stripped East Germany of its industry and refused to send any food stuff to the West. Britain and U.S.A. had to supply food to the West Germans. But it could not continue for a long time. The American and British representatives of the joint control commission announced that no more reparations would be sent from the western zones until the Soviets sent the food from the Eastern zone in return. Thus a stalemate war precipitated in Germany between the Soviet Union and the other allies. Both sides refused to relent. The Western powers decided not to vacate the places occupied by them. They were determined to create a strong democratic Germany to stem the tide of communism. Thus in West Germany a democratic system of government was built from the grass roots, while in the Eastern Zone, a dictatorial communist type of Government was established. By 1947, the political and economic division of Germany became a settled fact. The frontiers between the zones, which had been drawn merely for administrative convenience, have become the frontiers between East and West, between the democratic and communist worlds.

The transition period of the cold war was ended by two memorable episodes of 1947, the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine and the launching of the Marshall plan. In March 1947 the British government decided not to send any more help to the

Greeks against the communist rebels. The Americans at once sensed the danger. If the British withdrew their aid from Greece, it would lead to the victory of the communists and add one more country to the list of Soviet satellities. Truman who succeeded Roosevelt in U. S. A. as its president was an inherent hater of communism, and was dead against its spread in Europe. Therefore he came forward to render an aid of 400 million dollars to Greece and Turkey. He declared, "I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures". Thus was born the Trueman Doctrine of containment of communism by helping all those who fought against communist infiltration. As a sequel to the Trueman Doctrine, the Marshall plan was announced by General Marshall Secretary of State of U. S. A. All out economic aid was assured by this plan to all those European countries which could get together and work out a joint programme for economic recovery. Britain and France quickly responded to the call of Marshall and began to organize a conference of European powers at Paris to chalk out a joint programme for the economic revival of Europe. The Soviet leaders denounced the Marshall plan as dollar imperialism and asked all the communist countries not to participate in the Paris conference. They organized in 1947 a rival organization called the Cominform consisting of all communist countries, with a view to establish closer economic and political cooperation among them. Orders were sent out to communist parties of Western Europe, to give up their policy of moderation and take to direct action such as riots, strikes, insurrections etc. against capitalist regimes. The communists in Asian Countries also took to the Jungle and began their guerilla warfare. Thus an undeclared war arose between the communist and democratic elements all over the world. In many parts of the world the Cold War turned very warm.

The second phase of the cold war began in 1947. During this period Czechoslovakia which was the only country

in Eastern Europe, retaining its democratic government, turned Red. The Czech communists, instigated by the Soviet Government, staged a coup in 1948 and installed a purely communist regime. Next came the Berlin blockade which was the culmination of the cold war. In March 1948 Russia prevented all communications between West Berlin and West Germany. All road and rail traffic between West Berlin and West Germany were stopped. Even electricity from East Germany was cut off to West Berlin. Thus an attempt was made by the Russians to bring Berlin within the Eastern zone. But it failed because the Americans organized one of the greatest airlifts to Berlin which was supplied with all the goods it needed through aeroplanes. It operated successfully down to May 1949 when the Russians ended their ban on land traffic and the crisis was averted. But Berlin came to be permanently divided into two parts. East Berlin was merged with the Eastern zone in 1956 and became the capital of German Democratic Republic. The West Berlin became a land of the Federal Republic of West Germany. The phenomenal economic progress of West Berlin stimulated an enodus of people from East Berlin to the West. In order to stop it the communists built up a wall all along the borders and sealed off all emigration to West Germany. The Berlin Wall stands there as the very symbol of cold war between the communistic and democratic Europe.

The Berlin Blockade and the communist coup in Czechoslovakia accelerated the growth of Western Germany into a strong free State and the formation of the Western defence system known as the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO). It comprised of France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Lumemburg, United States, Canada, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland and Norway. NATO was set up in 1949; Greece and Turkey and West Germany joined it later. It provided for the organisation of an international force to be commanded by a common general. It also provided for mutual help against any aggression, especially communist

aggression. The Communist retaliated to it by organising the so called Warsaw Pact. It was drawn up in 1955 and provided for mutual assistance in the case of attack by any foreign country. Hungary was invaded in 1956 on the pretext that it had become disloyal to the fellow communist countries and was forcibly brought under the influence and control of the Soviet Union. Thus the whole of Europe came to be divided into two power blocks one under the leadership of U. S.A. and the other under that of U. S. S. R.

Cold War outside Europe (1949-63)

The cold war after reaching a stalemate in Europe by 1949, it overflowed into the rest of the world into Asia, America and Africa. In 1949, there arose another communist country in China which led to a cold war in Asia. The Peoples Republic of China was recognized by Britain and India but France and U.S.A. refused to recognize it. U.S.A. on the other hand recognized the government of Chiang-Kai-Shek in Formosa as the real government of China. Therefore tension arose between Russia and China on the one hand and U.S.A. and other democratic countries on the other, over a few Asian issues.

In Korea there arose a civil war between communist North Korea and democratic South Korea. The North was helped by the Soviet Union and China while the South was aided by U.S A. and the United Nations Organisation. The war was ended only in 1953 by an international conference held at Geneva which established two Koreas on the North and South of the 38th Parallel.

In Indo-China there arose a war between communist North and the democratic French in the South. U.S.A. helped the French while the Chinese aided the North. Ultimately peace was established by recognizing the independence of North Vietnam. After that there arose a war between North Vietnam controlled by communists and South Vietnam helped by U.S A. which poured into it not only arms but also men. After years of brutal warfare U.S.A. had to accept defeat and withdraw its forces from Vietnam. The whole of Vietnam has now come under communist rule.

Gradually the cold war spread to the Middle-East also. An Anti-Soviet alliance was created in 1955, known as the Baghdad pact, in which Iraq and many Arab countries joined. Britain also joined it later. The Soviet Union naturally condemned it, but it began to befriend Egypt to which it promised aid for the construction of Aswan dam. U.S.A. and the other Western powers which were initially friendly with Egypt, suddenly became hostile to it, when they knew of the overtures of the soviet union. They stopped all aid to Egypt which led to the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser. This led to the Suez crisis of 1956, when Israel and later on Britain and France also declared war on Egypt. At this moment Khrushchev Premier of Soviet Union threatened to send rockets to Britain and France if they did not stop aggression. The U.S.A. and U.N.O. however condemned the action of Britain and France and restored peace in the Suez area. Thus a major show down between Russia and the Western powers in the Middle East was averted.

In 1957 the Soviet Union sent the sputnik in the space and gained superiority over the western powers in space research. In 1959 an attempt was made by general Eisenhower the president of U.S.A. to establish friendship between the two big powers. A summit conference was planned at Paris in 1960 between the leaders of many western countries. But it was spoiled by the U2 incident in which American U2 reconnaissance aircraft over Soviet territory was detected and one of them shot down. Khrushchev refused to continue the Paris talks unless U.S.A. apologized to the Soviet Union.

In the African continent, the cold war crept into the Congo country which was granted independence in 1960. The Soviet Union sent help to a rebel leader called Lumumba against the established regime. However the U.N.O. backed by U.S.A. sent an international force to preserve the unity of Congo and thereby prevented U.S S.R from establishing a foot hold in Africa. So also the Soviet attempt to establish its influence over. East Africa was frustrated when Zanzibar which was helped by the Soviet Union, chose to join with a more moderate Tanganyika.

Finally the cold war reached the very shores of America during the so called Cuban Crisis. Khrushchev the Russian premier promised all aid to the communist regime at Cuba under the leadership of Fidel Castro. In November 1962, an attempt was made by the Soviet Union to instal nuclear weapons in Cuba. As such a move was calculated as a challenge to the supremacy of U.S.A. in the Caribbean,Kennady the president of U.S.A.threatened, an invasion of Cuba, if the missiles were not dismantled. Khrushchev at once bowed down to the threat and removed the rockets from Cuba. Thereafter he tried to normalise the relationship between the two big powers, by establishing direct communication between U.S.A. and Russia by the so called Washington-Moscow hot line of June 1963. The Nuclear Test ban Treaty was signed in August 1963. During the presidentship of Johnson and Nixon further attempts have been made to compromise with U.S.S.R. The strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) started in 1966-68 to limit the production of Nuclear bombs is a great step forward in the detente between the two super-powers.

Chapter XXV Russia Under Stalin and After

Lenin, the undisputed leader of the communist party and Russia between 1917 and 1922 died of heart - attack on 21 January 1924 at the age of fifty - three. His body which was embalmed and placed in the mausoleum in Red Square in front of the Kremlin, soon became an object of pilgrimage. His death was followed by a power struggle between Stalin and Trotsky, in which ultimately Stalin won. From 1929 to 1953, he ruled over Russia, with an iron hand.

Stalin was born in 1879, as the son of a poor shoe - maker in Georgia. He was educated at a church school and then was trained for the priesthood at a theological seminary. He was expelled from these owing to his political activities. He then became a full - time revolutionary, indulging in all sorts of secret activities against the government. As a result, he was imprisoned several times and out of ten years before 1917, he spent seven in prison. He became one of the most

influential leaders of the Bolshevik party and became the editor of Pravada the party newspaper in 1917. When the communists captured power, he first became the Commissar of Nationalities, in which post he gained experience in dealing with the non - Russian people of his country. Then he became the Commissar of the Workers' and peasants' Inspectorate, in which capacity he created a civil service and appointed his own supporters to key posts. In 1922, he became party secretary and his secretariat became the most powerful and influential body in the whole of Russia. He was noted for simplicity and there was nothing striking about him But behind his medioesity was hidden a terrible ruthlessness which would not tolerate any opposition. He saw to it that Trotsky his rival was eliminated from politics, completely.

Trotsky, son of a wealthy Jewish Farmer, was a great intellectual and soldier. During the civil war between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks he was Minister of War. But his support to the Mensheviks made him rather unpopular in the party. Moreover he clashed with Stalin in the ideological field. Stalin was very particular about Russia's internal development and strength rather than for organising a world revolution. But Trotsky wanted to spread socialism all over the world. Stalin, however had a majority in the Politburo and in 1925 Trotsky was dismissed from his post as Commissar of war and in 1926 he was expelled from the Politburo, along with Kamenev the other great rival of Stalin. In 1927, Trotsky was expelled from the communist party and was sent to central Asia. After 1929 he ran away to America and lived in exile. He was assassinated in 1940 in Mexico. By the end of 1929, Stalin established himself as the undisputed leader of U. S. S. R. His fiftieth birthday was celebrated all over Russia with great jubilance. His portrait and statues came to occupy all important public places.

The Five Year Plans

Stalin wanted to convert Russia into a strong military state, which could not be easily conquered by Germany or any other European country. To achieve this object he launched on a scheme of thorough modernisation of Russian agriculture and industry. His plan was to increase agricultural production, first, so that the surplus products could be sold to the advanced industrial countries and buy from them the necessary industrial machinery, for being used in augmenting industrial production in Russia. With this view he established huge collective farms, in the place of 25 million independent peasant holdings. Groups of about twenty small farms were amalgamated into a big farm, in which private ownership of land was abolished and land was owned and cultivated in Common. Farming was mechnaised and modernised. Wages were paid according to the time spent on working on the collective farm and the produce was to be sold to the state at low prices. Though the poor peasants welcomed such farms, the rich landlords called Kulaks opposed it. Stalin let loose the engine of repression against the rebels, who were either killed or deported to far off Siberia. By 1939 about 99% of the land was collectivised. The immediate reuslts of such collectivisation were not satisfactory. Owing to the exodus of enterprising and intelligent peasants to the cities, there was a general decrease in agricultural production. Poor harvest and famines arose in the beginning leading to the death of 10 million people. But Stalin stuck to his guns and continued the experiment. Gradually the production increased and U.S S.R. could export more foodstuff to other countries and purchase sophisticated machinery for the growth of industries.

To increase the industrial out put of Russia, Stalin carried out a number of Five year plans. The First plan was introduced in 1928 and its target in industrial production was achieved within four years. Purposely the new industries were set up in the interior parts of Russia, far away from the western border. New iron and steel industries were started in the Urals. The second five year plan (1932-37) also laid emphasis on industrial growth. Foreign technical assistance and loans were freely utilized and production increased though the quality of the goods produced was sub-standard

The third five year plan (1937-41) shifted the emphasis from capital goods to consumer goods. Russians who were actually sacrificing their ordinary comforts for the sake of the country, heaved a big sign of relief But their job was short lived because the world war came in 1939 and Russia was involved in it. Therefore emphasis was switched over from consumer goods to arms production. The State Planning Commission was responsible for carrying out the Five year plans. It set a target for each plan and actually drove by force the individual firms to produce the quota fixed for it. Since failure to reach the target and slow performance led to improvement, industrial managers sometimes gave false figures as to their production. Priorities were given arbitrarily. The production of coal was preferred to that of oil and canals were preferred to roads and railways. The labourers suffered much and their standard of living fell continually. But ultimately Stalin's dreams were realized. Russia was transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country.

In order to ensure the successful completion of his economic revolution Stalin carried out one of the largest purges ever witnessed by Russia. In 1934 Kirov a popular leader of the Leningrad Party Organisation was assassinated with the connivance of Stalin. During 1936 - 38, a large number of prominent communist leaders who were suspected to be anti - stalinists were tried for crimes and shoot dead ruthlessly. Thousands of army officers, and millions of citizens were arrested, imprisoned, exiled or killed without any valid reasons what soever. Stalin thus ruthlessly eliminated any possible rival to him as head of the State as well as all suspected opponents to his dictatorial policies.

Foreign Policy

Russia's attitude towards Germany was rather friendly before 1933. But it was changed when the Nazis under Hitler came to power. Hitler was an out and out anti - communist and desired an expansion of Germany in the East. Therefore Russia began to be friend Britain and France. In

1934 USSR entered the League of Nations. In 1935, Russia and France entered into a pact of mutual assistance. Russia agreed to help Czechoslovakia if it was attacked by a foreign power, provided France also came to its aid. But soon Stalin was disenchanted with his policy of friendship with France and Britain as they followed a policy of appeasement with Hilter. The pact between Germany, Italy and Japan known as the Berlin - Rome - Tokyo Axis increased the fears of Stalin that Russia might be attacked from both sides, East and West. Therefore in order to postpone the inevitable Nazi invasion of Russia, he entered into a friendly treaty with Hitler in 1939. According to the Soviet Nazi pact, East Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia were to go to Russia, while West Poland and Lithuania went to Germany. Hitler entered into this pact so that Russia would not stop his aggression in the west. For Stalin it was a device to postpone the Nagi invasion of Russia. But the postponement was for less than two years by which period Hitler overran the western countries and then swooped on Russia.

World War II

Between 1941 to 1945 Russia experienced one of the worst privations ever witnessed by the Russians since Napoleon's invasion. But Russia put up a stout resistance to the Nazis. The help from Britan and U.S.A. was indeed tremendous. However it is estimated that 15 million civilians and 10 million soldiers died in the war. Though in the beginning the Russians retreated, later on they fell on the Nazis ruthlessly and achieved memorable victories in the Battle of Leningrad and others. Stalin took almost all decisions during the war himself and guided it properly. All the Russians stood behind him as one man and contributed to the success of Russia in the war.

But the war brought untold miseries to the Russian people. Factories and farms had been destroyed, machines broken, mines flooded and labour force wearied and depleted. But Stalin was grim

in his determination to restore the pre-war economy. He asked the people to tighten their belts, receive less wages and work more for the prosperity of the country. The people responded remarkably to his call and worked day and night to reconstruct the war torn towns and villages. As a result the fourth five year plan (1946-50) splendid success was achieved. But wages were still low and while Russia was becoming richer and richer people were becoming poorer and poorer. However Stalin's power was omnipotent. He became a sort of demi-god and his statues were erected all over the country. Cities were named after him. But Stalin disposed of all his enemies real and imaginary in a gruesome manner. Khrushchev described him as, a profoundly sick man who suffered from suspiciousness and presecution mania, Human rights found in democratic countries such as freedom of speech, freedom of association etc, were conspicuous by their absence in U.S.S.R. No party congress met between 1939 and 1952.

In 1953 Stalin died. His body was embalmed and was placed next to Lenin's in the mausoleum in Red square. He was indeed a despot but a benevolent despot. It is said that he "found Russia working with a wooden plough and left her equipped with atomic piles".

The Khrushchev Era (1953-64)

On the death of Stalin, Malenkov became both prime Minister and Secretary of the communist party. A week later, however, Khrushchev became party Secretary. Thus the two great leaders shared the power, Malenkov acting as head of the government and Khrushchev functioning as head of the party. Khrushchev built up his popularity by appointing his own supporters in all important posts, while Malenkov was slowly losing his hold over the party. In 1955 Malenkov resigned, yielding place to Bulganin a friend and supporter of Khrushehev From 1955 to 1958. Bulganin and Khrushchev functioned as joint rulers of Russia. They went together, wherever they went. Both of them attended the Geneva conference, and visited Yugoslavia, India and Britain.

But, slowly Khrushchev gained more power and influence in the party than Bulganin. The Stalnists who criticised him were dismissed. In 1958 Bulganin resigned and Khrushchev became both head of the government and the party.

Nikita Khrushchev was born of peasant parents in south Russia in 1894. He worked as a herdsboy until the age of ten and then studied in a school for two years. In 1908 his family moved to a coal mining area, where he became a mechanic in a mine. He joined the communist party in 1918, and after three years study at a technical college, he became an active member the communist party in the Ukraine and slowly worked his way up, and became the First Secretary of the Ukranian Communist Party. There he manifested his qualities of leadership and control. In 1949 he came to Moscow, and got the patronage of Stalin. His simple and unaffected manners, jovial temper and outspokenness appealed to many of his partymen, who readily accepted him as their leader. He was impulsive in his speech and actions but quite a tough man to deal with. Possessed with abundent common sense he solved many problems quickly. He was strong but flexible enough to adopt himself to the changing needs of the times. Efficiency rather than idological purity was the criterian of his success.

Khrushchev, who in the heart of hearts hated the terroristic policy of Stalin, followed a systamatic policy of destalinisation from 1953 - 1956. All persecution was stopped. Intellectuals were given more freedom. The arrested persons were released and people enjoyed the freedom of movement for the first time. Many Russians visited foreign countries and many foreigners visted Russia. It appeared as if the 'Iron Curtain' imposed by Stalin was removed. The special police which tyrannised over the innocent people was suppressed and Beria, the minister in charge of the secret police was shot dead. Many of the Labour camps were dissolved. Production of consumer goods was encouraged

and farmers were given financial assistance. He did not mince words in condemning the heartless persecution of Stalin. He criticized Stalin's war policy and his policy of self - deification. He ordered the removal of the innumerable photos and busts of Stalin which were found in all offices of government. Stalin-grad was renamed as Volgograd and Stalin's body was removed from the mausolenm to an obscure place. He supported the theory of coexistence with western capitalists and declared that there were many ways for the achieve - ment of Socialism. Thus he ended the reign of terror in Russia and enabled the Russians to breathe the fragrant breeze of freedom.

In the field of industry and agriculture Khrushchev followed the policy of decentralisation. In 1957 he divided Russia into about a hundred regions which were given the freedom to plan and organize their own industries, under the general supervision of Moscow. Latter in 1962 the number of regions was halved. In order to increase the standard of living of Russians he encouraged the production of consumer goods and allotted more funds for light industries. As a result, the over-all production increased. The output was planned on the basis of consumer demand and uneconomic firms were closed.

Being a farmer himself Khrushchev bestowed more attention on agriculture. He gave freedom to the collective farms to plan their own production. The size of the farms was increased so that large scale production with modern machines could be adopted. He introduced more machinery and chemical fertilisers in the farms. He saw to it that fair prices were paid to the farmers for the goods they supplied to the state. In 1954 the virgin lands of southern Siberia were cultivated. As a result of all these there was a sudden spurt in the production of corn and other farm produce. However soon the law of diminishing returns began to operate and the production decreased. In 1963 Russia was forced to purchase grain from America.

But soon Khrushchev fell on evil days and his popularity began to wane. After 1961 there was a steady increase in the price of consumer goods whose production declained. The production of food stuffs in particular declined owing to many unforeseen natural calamities and mismanagement of the big collective farm. In foreign affairs also his policies failed to bring credit to Russia. His initial friendly attitude to U.S.A had to be changed owing to the U2 affair in which U.S A. was found to be guilty of spying the Russian activities. The way in which he tried to erect missiles at Cuba, and his dramatic climb down and withdrawal from Cuba at the threat of President Kennedy, further diminished his popularity. The party leaders did not like his action in promising Nasser of Egypt a loan of £ 100 Million, without consulting his fellow ministers at Moscow. He was becoming more and more dictatorial and his one man rule came to be despised by one and all. His flanboyant dipolomacy indiscreat speeches, his uncouth behaviour such as banging the tables of the U.N.O. with his shoues and his enmity with Mao -Tse- Tung combined to increase his unpopularity. In October 1964, he was suddenly condemned for his policies and was unceremoniously relieved from his office. He was succeeded by Kosygin as Prime Minister and Brezhnev as party Secretary.

Chapter XXVI

AMERICA IN THE NINETEEN SIXTIES

No generation of Americans had seen a crisis so troublesome or discontent and anger so widespread as that which was experienced in the Nineteen Sixties. The Government of the United States wielded awesome military power that surpassed anything known in the past. Yet it was unable to use that power successfully in a small peasant country of Southeast Asia. The nation's economy, surging ahead more rapidly than ever before, was outdoing anything known in American experience or in that of any other nation. Yet the country was wracked by exceptionally fierce anxieties, and the poverty that remained seemed more galling than at any earlier time.

Comitted to a multiracial society and to racial justice, America was unable to make progress rapid enough to prevent acute and agonizing discontents, discontent so violent in their manifestations that parts of major American cities were reduced to ashes. More people were being educated at a higher level than ever in history, yet discontent in the Colleges, and even in the High Schools, was "Critical" in late, 1960s.

John F. Kennedy set the keynote for the decade in his first inaugural address with a note of disciplined optimism: "The torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans - born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of human rights to which this Nation has always been committed". The white House aroused among vigorous young people such an acute interest in Government, which had not been evident since 1900. Kennedy found himself operating with very

slender political resources. He had been elected by only a small margin in the popular vote, and his Party, though it enjoyed healthy majorities in both Houses of Congress, was dominated by its conservatives.

In his thousand days as President, Kennedy achieved little in domestic legislation. Under his leadership Congress passed the Housing Act of 1961, which set aside 5.6 billion for public housing for the elderly and encouraged urban renewal. The Kennedy administration did not receive congressional cooperation in dealing with the civil rights of blacks, but it pushed ahead when legislative action made progress possible. Buses, Motel, Hotels, and restaurants were largely desegregated by law. The space race with Russia prompted Kennedy to deliver a dramatic message to Congress in which he proposed a 9 billion as a crash programme designed to put a man on the moon within ten years.

Kennedy established the peace corps by executive order, in March 1961. The objective was to earn goodwill for the United States in developing countries. The peace corps was made up of young men and women who, after special training, were sent to developing nations to teach and to help improve sanitary and agricultural conditions. It helped to provide a generation of Americans with a better understanding of the problems of other people.

The alliance for progress was officially however, there no basis but the notion that the United States would have an easy time with its neighbours to the South. This was completely dissipated in April 1961 in the abortive American - sponsored invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs.

To recover from the quirk of a terrible nuclear war, Kennedy, used this event to make more decisive moves toward peace. The United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain in July 1963 signed a treaty banning nuclearo weapns

tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, a landmark in modern diplomacy. Ultimately the treaty received the adherence of more than seventy nations, although France and China refused to accept it. It was the greatest single step toward peace since the beginning of the cold war.

There were other signs of growing ability among the Americans and the Russians to come to understandings: the installation of a "hot line" communication link between the White House and the Kremlin, which enabled the leaders of the two countries to talk to each other at short notice and to consult in emergencies; the sale of surplus American wheat to the Russians; and a friendly proposal by Kennedy, although not accepted by the Soviet Union, and that the two nations combine their efforts to reach the moon.

Castro's forces had crushed the invasion, and Kennedy at the outset of his administration was faced with acknowledging responsibility for the failure of an ill considered plan. Little was learnt from history.

The time of testing continued. President Kennedy decided to take the measure of his adversary and serve warning of his determination to take a stand on Berlin. When he met Khrushchev in June 1961, he was impressed with his hardness. Nonetheless, when Khrushchev issued a new Berlin ultimatum in mid-June, giving the Western powers until the end of the year before the East German government would be left free to take firm action on Berlin, Kennedy replied that relying on Allied weakness or indecision would be a "grave mistake".

Both sides now increased their armaments and military expenditures. Khrushchev ordered the construction of a twenty-five mile wall of concrete and barbed wire to seal off the two parts of Berlin. This remains a symbol of the division of Germany, but occasional attempts to escape across the wall by East Germans only prove to the world the desire of some people for greater freedom.

Assassination

Encouraged by his victory in the Cuban missile crisis and fortified by the success of the Test Ban Treaty, Kennedy was beginning to think in the fall of 1963 of his coming campaign for reelection. He agreed to visit Texas in November in the hope of restoring unity to the divided Democratic party in the State, when he was shot in the midst of an equally successful motorcade tour of Dallas on November 22.

The Johnson Administration

Kennedy's successor, Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, had entered political life at the time of the new deal, Johnson's first achievement was in getting Kennedy's legislative program through the same Congress that had rejected it. In February 1964, only a few months after taking office, he signed the act providing for tax cuts of S 11.5 billion that had been long sought to stimulate the economy. On July 2, he signed a Civil Rights Act which was described by James Farmer, the leader of the Negro Militant Organization CORE (Congress of Radical Equality), as "an act of goodwill and reconciliation" between black and white communities. This law increased federal power to protect voting rights, to desegregate public facilities, to integrate schools, and to open job opportunities in businesses and trade unions.

The Election of 1964

Johnson's success with Congress and his commitment to broad welfare program enhanced his position for the election of 1964. Johnson, after a whirlwind campaign returned with an overwhelming victory against Goldwater, comparable in American History to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936 and Warren G. Harding in 1920.

The voting Rights Act of August 6, 1965, was carried in response to an eloquent plea by President Johnson after the inflammatory events in Selma, Alabama; it provided substantial guarantees of black people's right to vote in Southern States where this actual right had been denied.

The Eighty-Nineth Congress also enacted the following welfare measures: (1) a new immigration law ending the discriminatory system based on national origins which had been established in the 1920s, (2) a law providing special assistance for the redevelopment of the economically depressed Appalachia area running through eleven states, (3) laws to make highways more attractive, to purify polluted air, and to restore polluted waterways, (4) a constitutional amendment providing for some one to perform the functions of the Presidency any time the incumbent should be unable to perform his duties, (5) acts creating two new Cabinet departments, one for Housing and Urban affairs and another for transportation.

The Johnson administration could be said to have set a bright new record for its social and economic legislation. Yet the period was one of startling discontent. The dominant note of the 1960s was dissatisfaction stemming from two primary sources; the failure of the country to make sufficient progress in eliminating radical injustice and the evasive, unsettling war in Vietnam.

Vietnam

Fearful of the spread of communism in Southeast Asia, the United States had begun to extend aid to the French, by the end of 1953 they were expending about £ 1 billion a year on Vietnam. American aid, however, could not save the French who had allowed a large part of their army to be trapped in the untenable fortress of **Dienbienphu** near to the border of Laos. At this time some of the Eisenhower's advisers urged him to use Americans, arms to help the French, but since public opinion would not sustain another Korea, the president withdrew from such drastic action.

The Geneva Agreements

The "truce" which developed at Geneva accepted the division at the seventeenth parallel and arranged for country-

wide elections aiming at unification in the summer of 1956. Such elections were never held. The Geneva Agreements, though not endorsed by the United States, had the status of an informal understanding. When sympathizers of the Communist cause in South Vietnam organized a quasi military terrorist group, the Vietcong, and began to attack the existing South Vietnam regime, the Eisenhower administration stepped up its assistance to South Vietnam. There the matter rested when Kennedy took office.

President Kennedy followed the Eisenhower administration precedent of enlarging American military aid to the government of Prime Minister Ngo Dihh Diem in South Vietnam. Aid continued after the Diem regime was overthrown by a group of South Vietnamese generals incited by American agents, but still the South Vietnamese war effort did not prosper. "We can help them as advisers", Kennedy said about the South Vietnamese, "but they have to win it". At the time of Kennedy's assassination American military personnel in South Vietnam numbered about 17,000. President Johnson ordered a single heavy relationary bombing raid on N. Vietnam bases. Johnson then appealed to congressional leaders to endorse his air strike and to authorize him to take whatever further steps he might think necessary combat aggression in Southeast Asia, as he defined it. Congress complied, adopting the famous Tonkin Gulf Resolution which was to remain in force until it was repealed by a majority of the House and Senate. Thus, to the regret of many Senators and Congressmen later on, Johnson had received a blank cheque from the legislature for further moves in the Vietnamese conflict.

President Johnson and his advisers were convinced that a victory for the Vietcong and the North Vitenamese would result in general victory for communism in Southeast Asia. The administration began to define the war in Vietnam not as civil war but as

the defense of South Vietnam against a foreign aggressor. This provided a reason for American intervention, and it was clear that the war could be won only if South Vietnamese efforts were supplemented by a larger American effort.

After February 17, 1965, when Vietcong forces assaulted American military installations at Pleiku, the United States began massive aire attacks in reprisal against North Vietnamese military targets. Early in March the first American ground combat troops, a detachment of five thousand Marines, were despatched to South Vietnam at the request of the South Vietnamese government.

From this point on, as each new detachment of American troops proved inadequate to win the war, the Johnson administration steadily escalated its commitment. At the end of 1966 about four hundred thousand American troops were in Vietnam.

As the war dragged on in the forests and rice fields of Vietnam, it became evident that the Johnson administration had committed the United Nation to an undertaking that it was incapable of finishing at any price that it was willing to pay. The Vietnamese terrain, which aided the activities of guerillas and terrorists, was unsuitable to the American type of modern mechanized warfare.

People disliked war that was so prolonged, so costly, so unsuccessful, so inhuman and dirty. Young people were particularly disturbed by the impact of a peace time draft. They viewed the draft as unfair class legislation since it offered special deferments to middle-class youths who were able to go to college. They were critical because the draft subjected young men to seven years to nerve wracking anxiety from age nineteen to twenty-six. The draft conformed idealistic young men to the bitter alternative of fighting in a war whose morality they could not accept or being branded as traitors and criminals. Opposition to foreign wars as in 1812, 1848, 1898, 1917 was a familiar fact of American history had become embarassing to government. As the war continued and its

expenses mounted to $ 26 billion a year, more than the cost of all domestic programs, it became clear that the country could not also afford to the massive expenditures necessary for President Johnson's domestic program. Thus his scheme for a "Great Society", foundered on the escalation of the conflict.

In the spring of 1968, with a presidential contest at hand, Senator Eugene Mc. Carthy of Minnesota undertook the perilous task of unseating the President for renomination by his own party. Aided by hundreds of volunteer college students. Mc. Carthy waged a brilliant campaign in an early primary in New Hampshire. His success persuaded the former President's brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, who had hitherto held back from the nomination. President Johnson withdrew. Not long after, the choice of Democratic candidates was drastically narrowed by the tragic assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy in Los Angeles. Only two months earlier Martin Luther king had been assassinated. President Johnson set up a National Commission on the prevention of violence.

THE ELECTION OF 1968

The Presidential election of 1968 showed that a new model was developing in the country and that new issues were becoming important. As the country became more sharply divided between the right and the left, the party in power suffered most. When the Republicans met in Miami in August, Richard Nixon easily defeated the leading contenders Ronald Reagan, Governor of California, and Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New York, for the nomination. The delegates accepted Nixon's choice of Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland as Vice-President.

Two weeks later at a convention in Chicago marred by a riot between Police and Young radical demonstrators, the Democrats chooe Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

Nixon campaigned cautiously, taking advantage of the widespread discontent that would inevitably do most damage

to the Democratic candidate. He promised an honourable peace in the Vietnam War, but said it would not be wise to describe in detail his plans for ending the war. He also made much of the general discontent over violence and crime and featured a promise to restore law and order.

Humphrey, handicapped by his close association with the war policies of the Johnson administration, nonetheless pledged himself to seek a political solution to the struggle in Vietnam and to end the spirit of divisiveness in American life by pursuing further reforms. Although Humphrey made some gains during the course of the campaign, Nixon won a narrow victory in the popular vote and a substantial one in the Electoral College.

The Nixon Administration

In his first inaugural address President Nixon said, 'The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker". He might well have thought that his was a double task, since he had not only to find a way to peace in Vietnam but also had to restore peace among people at home.

Several serious domestic issues confronted him. There was growing restlessness among the people over inflation and high taxes. There was the rampant discontent of what Nixon was to call the "silent majority". There were stong feelings among blacks and whites over the persistence of racial injustice. There was much poverty and hunger in the country. Pollution and the destruction of the natural enviornment led to an ecological crisis. But the key to almost all problems was the difficult question of a settlement of the Vietnam war without which no other major accomplishment would be possible.

Foreign Policy

Elected in 1968 on a pledge to end the Vietnam War, President Nixon moved more deliberately than expected, giving rise to criticism in Congress, the press, and the electorate. He

proposed to the negotitasors in Paris a phased withdrawal of both allied and North Vietnamese troops from South Vietname over the period of a year to be followed by internationally superviised free elections. But North Vietnam demanded complete withdrawal of United States forces and a political solution that would eventually unite Vietnam. At home Nixon defended his policy as a means of getting United States ground troops out of Vietnam, leaving United States naval and air support to aid the combat forces of South Vietnam. This process was called "Vietnamization".

In the hope of pressuring the North Vietnamese to end hostilities, American and South Vietnamese troops invaded Cambodia in force in April 1970 and Laos in February 1971. Protest rallies were held throughout the nation, and the American Public was deeply shaken by the violent deaths of student protestors at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State University in Mississippi, when in each case, the National Guard fired on the students.

The President's actions deepened the division between anti-war and prowar groups. Meanwhile, under pressure from Congress and the public, a more equitable draft lottery was adopted under which individuals were classified for call in an order depending upon birth dates.

The president Nixon reversed his position with Communist China and encouraged the establishment of friendly relations. In the spring of 1971 the table tennis teams of the two countries played each other in China. Congressmen and newsmen were invited to visit China, and a twenty-year embarge on United States trade with Communist China was lifted. Next came the announcement by the White House that Nixon would make in trip to China sometime the next year. In October, the United Nations, with the acquiescence of the United States, voted to admit the People's Republic of China and to expel the Nationalist China delegates. President Nixon travelld to China in February 1972 to meet with its leader, Mao-Tse-tung and Chou-En-lai after arrangements

had been made secretly by his Assistant for National Security Affairs, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger.

Shortly thereafter the fighting in Vietnam increased in intensity as the North Vietnamese swept into the northern districts of South Vietnam. In response the President risked more criticism and protest by mining the Haiphong harbour and other parts in North Vietnam and by ordering massive aerial bombardment against North Vietnam. China and Russia protested, but they did not intervene.

The President also made a scheduled trip to Moscow and lifted prohibition against the export of wheat and other grains to the Soviet Union, eastern European countries and China had already been lifted. At the conference the Americans signed several trade agreements and co-operative arrangements with Soviet on space, science, health and environment.

The President took pride in reopening ties with China in establishing trade with the Soviet Union, and in carrying forward the Strategic Arms Limitation Talk (SALT). These measures softened opposition at home, but they did not end it. Conservatives thought Nixon had made all the concessions to China without receiving any in return. But liberals were pleased. On Vietnam, however, the roles were reversed. Anti-war groups believed that the President's policy was too slow and that the cost was too high in deaths and casualities.

In October 1972, twelve days before the presidential election, Kissinger reported to the world that "Peace is at hand" in Vietnam. But peace was elusive. The Paris talks between Kissinger and Le Due Tho, the representative of North Vietnam, drifted farther apart as each side interpreted a preliminary agreement differently. Nixon interrupted the talks by directing Kissinger to return home. The United States and North Vietnam agreed to resume peace talks in January, as a result of these talks a peace agreement was signed on January 27, 1973. Circumstances, however changed history both at home and abroad.

Chapter XXVII

THE LEGACY OF THE NEHRU ERA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Free India, was not only a great national leader but also a famous world Statesman. For more than half a century he strode like a colossus on the Indian stage and rendered yeoman service to the social and economic progress of India. He was wedded to two great ideals - Democratic socialisum which governed his domestic policy and non - alignment which motivated his foreign policy. From 1947 when India achieved indenendance to 1964 when he breathed his last, he remained as the undisputed leader and Prime Minister of India.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The concept of Democratic socialism was largely the handi - work of Nehru. Even from his younger days, he was very much attracted towards socialism. While he was studying in England, he came under the spell of the fahian socialists such as Prof. Laski, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw and sir Philip sydney. It was from them that he learnt the necessity of adopting democratic and constitutional methods to achieve socialism. He was not in favour of Violent and dictatorial methods for the establishment of a socialistic state. Naturally he condemned revolutionary communism. But he always had a fascination for the Five year plans of Russia, the great communist country which he visited once in 1927. He wanted to adobt similar plans in India through peaceful legislation rather than by violent ravolution. Therefore he adopted a policy of slow nationalisation and five year plans for the economic uplift of India.

In 1948, Nehru announced the economic policy of the Government of India. There he declared that only the three key industries railways, munition, and atomic energy would be nationalized and government would start new ventures

in six other industries. The existing industries were to remain free from Government control atleast for another ten years. The rest of the industries were left open for private enterprise. Thus a policy of 'mixed economy' was adopted by the Indian Government. Radicals criticized this policy as 'retreat from socialism'. But Nehru defended it by saying that in an underdeveloped country with limited capital and skills, big industries could not be organised efficiently by private capitalists and therefore a joint enterprise by both private persons and the government was essential to maximise the production of the country.

It was in the Avadi session of the congress in January 1955, Nehru progressed his new brand of socilalism called Democratic socialism, wherein there is scope for both public and private sectors. According to it, huge and public utility industries which involved huge capital should be in the hands of government while small and moderate sized industries which reduired only small capital outlay should be in the hands of private entrepreneurs. Equitable distribution of income which is the goal of socialism can be achieved by various methods such as progressive taxation, removal of special privilages, equality of opportunity for all classes, especially, backward and scheduled classes, expansion of educational facilities for all, removal of social disabilities, abolition of the land lordism etc., All these were declared as the aims of the government. The Nagpur congress of 1959 recommended cooperative farming and land ceiling in villages. It was this declaration which led to the founding of the Swatantra party by Rajaji who condemned all public ownership as detrimental to national progress.

Five Year Plans

Nehru believed only in a planned development of India, on the Russian model. Accordingly he set up the Planning Commission in 1950. It consisted of six members each of whom was responsible for certain areas of planning such as

agriculture, labour etc., In 1952, the National Development Council was established to advise the government on planning. It consists of the Prime Minister, all the State Chief Ministers and members of the planning commission. It met 2 or 3 times a year to consider the progress of plans and lay down policy directives. Each state was allowed to have its own planning commission. Under the guidance of the planning commission two five year plans were completed and third one was under progress when Nehru died.

The First Five Year Plan (1951 - 56) laid emphasis on agricultural development and self - sufficiency in food. Therefore it allocated one third of the expenditure on agriculture, on artificial fertilisers, irrigation projects, hydroelectric projects etc. A sizable amount was allotted to social services like education, health etc. A small amount was allotted for industries. The plan was a great success because the target figures were largely achieved. Food production increased by 20 percent, about 16 million additional acres were irrigated the generation of electric power was doubled and the industrial production went up by 20%. As a part of the plan community projects were introduced in 1952. Under this scheme villages were grouped into development blocks and trained workers were sent to guide the villagers in raising their standard of living. By 1962, 4,00,000 villages were covered by this scheme village Panchayats were created on a large scale and people were trained in local self - government. Cottage and small scale industries were also developed. Steps were taken to abolish Zamindari system and to protect the tenents from exploitation. Special attention was paid for the upliftment of backward and scheduled classes.

The Second Five Year plan (1956-61) concentrated on heavy industry such as Iron, Coal, Chemicals, Cement etc. It also aimed at diversification of industries, increase in the employment, opportunities an increase in the standard of living and a more

equitable distribution of income. The plan soon ran into difficulties owingto poor harvests, inflation, and drain of foreign exchange. Food production was much reduced and industrial growth also was not appreciable. However, certain basic industries such as steel, iron, coal, fertilisers, engineering and elctricproducts were developed. Three steel plants were establised at Dhurgapur, Bhilai and Rourkela. The Chittaranjan Locomotive and Integral coach factory at Perambur were established during this period.

The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) aimed at removing the defects in the second plan by concentrating more on agriculture and at the same time developing basic industries. It wanted to create a self-reliant and self-generating economy. But the plan did not achieve its objects. National income did not increase as expected.

Unemployment problem increased by leaps and bounds. Food prices rose up every where. Industries did not produce as much as they were expected. There was no coordination between the states and the centre in the matter of planned development. The Indo-Pakistan conflict and the Chinese aggression shattered the economy of the country. The failure of the plan was mainly due to the population explosion in the country, lack of sufficient enthusiasm among the officials of the government and the general Indolence of the people as a whole. Nehru's high intentions were not completely fulfilled.

Though the Five year plans could not achieve their targets, they considerably changed the face of the Indian economy. Huge river valley projects such as the Bhakra-Nangal projects in Punjab, the Hirakud Dam project of Orissa, the Damodar valley corporations project of Bihar and West Bengal and the Tungabadra Project of Andhra Predesh were all constructed only during this period under the inspiration of Nehru. Nehru's dream of industrialising the country was realized to a large extent. The Air craft industry at Bangalore and Kanpur, Leather Industry at Kanpur,

Automobile industry at Madras, Tank Industry at Avadi, paper industry at Sirpur, Steel industry at Bhilai etc, are some of the notable examples of industrial progress. Alongwith public enterprises, private industries such as Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur also developed.

Nehru's socialism aimed not only at material prosperity but also cultural progress. The Lalit Kala Akademy was established at Delhi in 1954, to promote arts like painting, sculpture etc. The Sangeeth Natak Akademy, set up in Delhi in 1953 encourages music, dance and drama. The Sahitya Akademi of Delhi promotes literature in the various Indian languages. The National Book Trust established at Delhi in 1957, produces standard literature at moderate prices. University education is promoted by the University Grants Commission.

Nehru was a believer not only in political democracy but also in social democracy. The New Constitution of India created under his inspiration provides for adult franchise, free elections and equal opportunity for all in Government appointments. Thus political equality has been established. The establishment of social equality has been attempted by the abolition of untouchability, by giving property rights to women, by facilitating divorce, and by giving special protection to religious and other minorities. The government follows a policy of secularism by which it gives equal treatment to all religious in the country. People are allowed to follow their own religions without any interference from government. By abolition of Zamindari System, by reserving jobs to the Scheduled castes and tribes, by taxing the rich people more than the poor, Nehru's government tried to establish economic equality. Thus all attempts were made by Nehru to establish in India, equality which is the basis of socialism.

Non-alignment

In foreign policy Nehru adopted the so called policy of non - alignment. It was evolved by him and Marshall Tito of

Yugoslavia perturbed by the division of the world into two power blocks, one headed by the U. S. and the other by U. S. S. R. and the cold war going on between them. Nehru and Tito wanted to steer clear of these two blocks and establish a third block consisting of nations which are non-aligned with any of the two big powers. They thought that such a block would be a sort of balancing factor in world politics and it would be able to reconcile the big powers in case they happened to clash with each other.

Pandit Nehru professed this policy of non - alignment and co - existence, first in the Bandung Conference of 1955. Thirty nine states including China participated in the conference and evolved the socalled doctrine of Panchashila or five principles, namely,

1. Mutual respect for each other's territory
2. Non aggression
3. Non - interferance in each other's internal affairs
4. Equality of Nations and mutual benefit
5. Peaceful co - existance.

Nehru announced that the capitalist and communist blocks should coexist in peace without interfering in each other's internal affairs. He expected that the big powers also would follow the Panchcheel and thereby bring about world peace. But his hopes were shattered to pieces when China attacked Indian territory in 1962. It was a great shock to him because Chou-en-lai the Prime Minister of Communist China was one of the signatories of Bandung Charter. He could not recover from the shock and ultimately died.

According to Nehru, non - alignment was not mere neutrality It was a dynamic doctrine which would always support justice and condemn injustice. But India would not commit itself to any of the power-blocks, before hand. Therefore it did not join regional organizations such as NATO and SEATO.

It got aid from U. S. A. as well as U. S. S. R. It has joined the British Commonwealth of Nations. But it condemned aggression and colonialism wherever they were found. In the U. N. O. and outside India condemned all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Whenever international forces were organized by the U. N. O. to stop aggression India readily sent its quota of soldiers. Thus Indian soldiers participated in the peace keeping operations in Congo, Cyprus and Korea. Nehru condemned Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and he was mainly responsible for the U. N. O.'s interference in Indo - China and the achievement of its independence. When Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt in 1956 Nehru vehemently condemned it as aggression. He persuaded U. S. A. and U. N. O. to interfere in the Suez crisis and stop fighting there. Nehru always condemned the aggression of Israel against Arab countries. With regard to Soviet Union he adopted a somewhat softer attitude. For example when Soviet Russia suppressed the people's revolt at Hungary, he did not condemn it openly. He said that it was Russia's internal matter and it was aimed at imperialism trying to subvert communism. He minced no words in condemning the policy of apartheid followed by South Africa and Rhodesia. India was the first country to bring in a resolution in the General Assembly of the U. N. O. against apartheid.

Nehru followed a policy of friendship with Pakistan and the neighbouring countries. But Pakistan forces invaded Kashmir in 1947. On the request from the King of Kashmir, India rushed its aid to Kashmir and drove away the invaders. Then Nehru referred to dispute to U. N. O which has failed to settle it till now.

Nehru's non-alignment doctrine is applauded by all including the big powers. The newly borne independent countries of Asia and Africa are following his doctrine. They have formed into a third block which is at present a powerful force in international politics.

Chapter XXVIII

China under Mao

INTRODUCTION

China to-day is one of the great powers of the world inspite of an increase of population the living standards have considerably improved and her economic growth is on a level with Soviet Russia. Her defence force is one of the largest in the world with conventional troops, sophisticated weapons and nuclear bombs. This transformation has been brought about, not by the Kuo - mintang of Dr. Sun - yat - sen and Chiang - ki - shek but by the communist party of China (F. P. B.) led by two outstanding leaders, Mao - tse - tung and Chow - en - lai. We shall deal in this chapter with the rise of the communist party to power and its achievements.

(A) CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

Rise of Communism in China—Circumstances Leading to the Establishment of the People's Government

In order to understand how communism became a powerful force in China, we should first refer to the 'New Tide' or the 'New Culture Movement' a movement for intellectual emancipation started by a number of scholars in the second decade of the 20th century. When China fell into political and economic chaos due to the civil war between rival Tuchums or war lords and when the old Manidarin Offiicials trained in Confucias ideology were not able to restore order, the 'New Tide' or China's great movement for intellectual freedom was started by a number of scholars. The most famous scholars were **Tsai - Yuan - hei**, the Chancellor of the Peking University and **Chen - tiw - hsin**, the editor of the magazine **'La - jennesse'** and the Dean of the College of Letters at the Peking University. These scholars analysed the problem of the ineffectiveness of China after the Revolution of 1911, as due to the neutral attitude of the People. They

therefore appealed to the youths of China to be independent, to go forth and take part in a **People's Movement** to reestablish China's unity and strength. They asked the youths to discard the old chinese culture based upon Confucianism and support reform on western liberal traditions.

It did not organise society on new lines. At a time when chinese society became an inchoate mass, Communist doctrines from Russia found ready acceptance in China. Even the leader of the 'New Tide' movement, Chen - tu - sin became a convert to Communism and founded the communist party of China in 1920. He was its first leader Dr. Sun-yat-sen, the original champion of Western Liberalism accepted Leninism as the panacea for all the ills of China and admitted communists into the Kuomintang. He established contact with Lenin in 1922 and a Russian agent named Adolph Joffe was sent to China. **Adolph Joffe** and Dr. Sun-yat-sen issued a joint manifesto declaring Sino-Soviet friendship. **Michael Borodino** was sent from Russia to Canton in 1923 as the political adviser of Dr. Sun. The Russian **General Galen** organised the **Whampoa Military Academy** with the aid of Chiang-Kai-Shek who had studied in Moscow with the officers of the Red Army.

A new army was created by the Kuomintang and it was used for national unification. To the new army was attached a political propaganda committee headed by Chou-en-lai. In 1924 the first National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton and it decided to admit the communists to the party. Gradually the communists in the Kuomintang increased their influence and this alarmed Chiang-kai-shek who had become the leader of the Kuomintang after the death of Dr. Sun-yat-sen in 1925. In 1927 by a successful coup, Chiang expelled the communists from the Kuomintang and made it a right wing organisation. The communists formed a separate party known as the communist party of China (CPC). It was at first strong in **Southern Kiangsi** in South China.

Defeated by Kuomintang troops, the communists under Mao-tse-tung set off on the famous **'Long March'** in 1934. They left **Juichin** to march over mountains, rivers and empty grasslands-distance of 6000 miles - to **Northern Shensi** where they finally arrived in 1935. They made **Yenan** as the Headquarters of the CPC. Northern Shensi had certain strategical advantages for the CFC. It was close to Soviet Russia and its satallite outer Mongolia. It was also nearer to the advancing Japanese and the CPC hoped to raise its prestige with the Japanese-hating chinese people, by fighting Japanese forces.

The CPC set up a state within China, with government, army, schools, and university but its activities were confined only to the rural areas. In those areas the communists took away the lands from the landlords and gave them to the peasants who naturally supported them. The CPC was not able to control industrial areas and was therefore dependent for its arms on the most primitive kind of production supplemented by the arms taken from the Japanese or the Kuomintang. Chinese communism was, in the beginning, not based on the urban proletariat but on the rural masses.

The Civil war between the CPC and with the Kuomintang (KMT) went on simultaneously with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria from 1931 to 1933. After concluding peace with Japan, Chiang turned his attention towards the communists. But public opinion in China wanted Chiang to make peace with the communists and present a united front against the Japanese aggressor. In 1936 Chiang was kidnapped by **Chung Hsuch liang,** known as the **'Young Marshal'** at **Sian** and he was set free only on his agreeing to call off his struggle against the communists. So when the **Marco-Polo Bridge** incident led to the Sino-Japanese war of 1937, the KMT and CPC combined and the CPC fought under the command of Chiang who was the supreme commander. But the two wings of the Chinese army were distrustful of each other. The war helped to increase the influence of the communists, for they were experienced in guerilla warfare and they gave a lot of trouble to the Japanese.

Mao's aim was to take advantage of the war to strengthen the influence of the Communists. His policy was "seventy percent self development (that is, expansion of Communist Control), twenty percent compromise and ten percent fighting the Japanese". This policy created a rift between the KMT and the CPC and in 1941 the KMT troops attacked a CPC force and killed its Commander at **Anhwei**. The **Anhwei Incident** broke the shaky unity which had existed between the CPC and the KMT in the Sino - Japanese war of 1937 to 1941. When the Sino - Japanese war merged into the second world war, each party was fighting in its own way against the Japanese.

Chiang was no doubt a brilliant General but he and his party became unpopular in China. The KMT was not able to carry out the programme laid down by its founder, Dr. Sun-yet-sen. Chiang's officers and generals were corrupt.

Chiang became jealous of the communists and from Chunking his war time capital attempted to prevent arms supplies reaching the communists. Chiang had then an American military adviser, Stilwell who wanted to send American arms to the communists to be used against the Japanese. Chiang did not like Stilwell's policy. He persuaded president Roosevelt to recall him. The new American Military Adviser **Wedemeyer** obliged Chiang and did not send arms and equipment to the CPC. Thus even in the midst of a foreign war, China was divided between the KMT and CPC.

At the close of the second world war Chiang - kai - shek, the leader of the KMT and Mao - tse - tung, the leader of the CPC were fighting for the mastery of China. With the shipping and aircraft provided by the American, Chiang was able to capture Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Peking and other cities. The Americans were not prepared to support Chaing in a civil war with the communists and they requested Chiang to form a political coalition with Mao. They also asked Chiang to introduce economic, adminstrative

and constitutional reforms. In December 1945 **President Truman** of America sent **General Marshall** to China as his personal representative to mediate between the two sides in what was developing into a civil war. The Marshall Mission failed and the civil war began.

Chiang and the KMT at first controlled three quarters of the population. Chiang's government did not tackle the spiraling inflation that eroded the value of the chinese currency. But Mao who set up a communist government at Yenan became popular as the years rolled on. His programme appealed to a people who were suffering from all round shortages. He adopted the Marxist theory to Chinese conditions. His policy was to satisfy the peasants, land hunger and at keeping close contact with the worker. Landowners were tolerated for a time, and the small man was given sufficient land for a decent livelihood. Officials were paid adequately but economically. Mao's slogan for New China was 'No graft no squeeze'. He broke with the old confucian tradition of rigid family organisation. Women acquried a surprising degree of freedom in Mao's Government. Without destroying home life, they worked in factories and spoke in village councils. But as obstacles grew, earlier tolerance was given up and purges in the party took place. Those who opposed Mao were characterised as counter revolutionaries and done to death.

After consolidating his position as well as the position of the CPC, Mao started an offensive against Chiang who had become very unpopular. Against the military advice of the Americans Chiang went to conquer Manchuria. By so doing, he left North China undefended. The communists annexed Manchuria and captured Peking, the capital. This was a terrible loss to Chiang. He was completely routed and he escaped to the stand of Formosa (Taiwan) with the remnant of his army and a number of civilian-KMT supporters. As the communists had no fleet, Chiang found himself safely installed as the Head of the Nationalist Regime at Formosa with the support of the American Fleet. The mainland of China came under Mao's authority and he set up the people's

Government of China in Peking on October 1, 1949. The Soviet Union gave dejure recognition to the people's Government and Mao went to Moscow, where he concluded a military pact with Russia. Britain recognised the People's Government, partly in accordance with the British practice of recognising any government which appeared to have stable control of a nation's territory, and partly in the hope of preserving British commercial interest in China. The U.S.A. did not recognise the People's Government as it was communist and was an ally of Russia.

The establishment of the People's Government in China was unique in the political traditions of Chinese civilisation. Previously in Chinese History though a number of royal dynasties rose and fell, there was a continuity of Chinese civilisation. When the Revolution of 1911 under Dr. Sun-yat-sen took place, it was only the replacement of a royal dynasty by a Government resting on foundations of old and new, of ancient chinese culture and modern western culture. The Communist Revolution of 1949 was a unique one in the sense that it was a total revolution uninfluenced by traditions or values of China's great past.

(B) CONSOLIDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The communists under Mao and Chou - en - lai had expereince of government in North - West China. From their revolutionary heritage and ideology and from a study of communist rule in Russia, the new Chinese leaders had a clear grasp of thier immediate goals and of the means of achieving them.

The new government was a broad coalition in which the communists, functioning as a party of proletarians in alliance with the peasantry, served with a number of 'democratic' parties. The 'democratic' parties were included only to give the impression to the outside world that the new government was representative of all sections of people and not of a single party. The communists set up a number of mass organisations to publicise and implement the communist party programme.

The Government set up in 1949 had four main branches (1) The Central People's Government which exercised legislative, executive and judicial powers; (2) the administrative council which was entrusted with administrative responsibilities (3) The People's Revolutionary Military Council having the Control of the Defence Forces, and (4) Procurator General's Office and the Supreme People's Court. Beneath the Central Government was the Local Government comprising everything from province to town and village.

In 1954 the National People's Congress adopted a Constitution which only gave a certain legitimacy to the provisional government set up in 1949. There were no fundemental political changes; only the structure was recast. The only changes were: (1) replacement of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference by the People's; National Congress; (2) replacement of the Administrative council by the State Council, a body which was to function like a Cabinet under the direction of a Premier; (3) reorganisation of defence, planning and administration under a National Defence Council; and (4) Creation of a new institution, the Supreme State conference which was to co-ordinate the various agencies. The Communist Party was central to every organ of government and it was through the control of the party that Mao, Chou-en-lai and a handful of others, exercised full power in the country.

Literature, the press, the stages, film, radio and educational institution's became the propagandists of New China. In 1951-52 the three **'Antis-Movement'** was designed to arouse the Chinese to expose 'corruption, waste and bureaucracy' in a campaign to eliminate from the party unreliable members and to expose former Kuomintang officials. Another movement known as the **'Five Antis-Movement'** was started it the same period to prevent tax-evasion, bribery, cheating in government contracts, theft of economic intelligence, and stealing national property'.

Communist China turned to Soviet Russia for capital and personnel to modernise her industry by the application of science and technology. Thousands of Russian technical experts were sent to China, while thousands of Chinese youths went to Russia for technical education and training. New China gave attention to light and heavy industry to the repair of railways, the construction of new lines, improvement of large traffic on the rivers and modernisations of agricultural production.

As time went by, the peoples government found that the intellectuals were not supporting the Government. The intellectuals had no doubt supported the C.P.C as against the KMT in the days of the Civil War, but now their attachment to ideas of personal and academic freedom made them to protest against the authoritarian controls now imposed in every sphere of Chinese life. In an attempt to conciliate the intellectuals and obtain their co-operation, Mao- Tse-tung proclaimed a new era of freedom of speech, known as the **'Hundred Flowers Movement'** in 1957. In the Hundred Flowers period, the Chinese communist leadership invited criticism. Writers previously silent, now published articles criticising the Communist regime. In the 1957 July issue of 'Peoples Literature' appeared a number of stories criticising the behaviour of party leaders and showing a negative attitude towards the new morality. Mao was alarmed at this outspoken criticism of his party's principles and programme. He called the intellectuals as 'Rightists' and persecuted them.

(C) THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD (1957-1964)

In 1957 there was an economic crisis. Industrial production had declained and economic growth was slowed down. Soviet Russia's help had declined considerably. Thereupon Mao proclaimed the 'Great Leap Forward in which China's man-power and women-power were fully mobilised for economic tasks to make up for lack of capital. The 'Great Leap' was a crash programme of intensive utilisation of Chinese labour. A lot of propaganda was done to popularise the movement and the Chinese people were stirred to great efforts. Mao declared that China's intention was to surpass Britain's Industrial production in 15 Years ·

The party had declared an eight hour day for every individual but under the 'Great Leap, he or she worked 14 or more hours. The Collective Farms were grouped into **'Communes'** and work was carried on under a kind of military discipline. Two thousand communes were set up during the period of the 'Great Leap'. The commune was an administrative unit consisting of 10,000 acres and 5000 households. In each Commune workers from 200 to 300 households. were formed into a productive brigade which was shifted from job to job as need required. In a commune large numbers of labourers were placed under a single direction and it was therefore well equipped to undertake vast projects. Another advantage was communal living. Community mess halls reduced household labour and controlled food consumption. Communal nurseries and homes for the aged reduced the labour spent on the care of the young and the old.

The 'Great Leap' resulted in temporary increases in industrial production, the estabeishment of new plants, expansion of transportation facilities, modernisation of agriculture and consolidation of the communist regime's hold on the people. But soon there was a setback. It was found that the machinery had been overtaxed to a breaking-point and several plants had to be closed for repair. Even more serious was the breakdown in agriculture made worse by bad weather. In 1960 there was such a drop in grain production that China had to import wheat from Australia and Canada exhausting a lot of precious foreign exchange.

To meet the situation the Peking Government retreated from the more extreme features of the 'Great Leap'. Agricultural production was given priority and industrial investment was reduced. Incentives were given to peasants to produce more. Peasants were given private plots to use as they wished. These changes helped economic progress and in 1965 communist leaders spoke optimistically of an upsurge of production.

One may not agree with all the figures given by Communist China about her economic progress, for what is really going on with in the 'Bamboo Curtain' nobody knows, but the improved living standards inspite of an increase of population and the maintenance of the largest conventional armed force in Asia, clearly show that China's economic growth is on a level with Soviet Russia. Moreover the detonation of nuclear bombs shows that China has a broad industrial base with hundreds of scientists and technicians who are conversant with the management of highly sophisticated machines.

The Cultural Revolution

After the 'Great Leap', Mao wanted to make the Communist Revolution more 'Red', he aimed at making it an extremist left Revolution. This is known as the 'Cultural Revolution' in which Mao's thoughts were published. Actually it resulted in the exaltation of the personality of Mao.

The personality Cult of Mao, was the begining of the struggle. In its extreme form before and during the Cultural Revolution, the Cult resulted in a quasi-defication of Mao and of the Thought of Mao-Tse-tung. Mao's image in offices, factories, and homes had become the object of quasi-religious ceremonies, in which three songs--"The East is Red," "Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman, "and "Father and Mother Are Dear but Mao Tse-tung is Dearer"--were sung. Mao's picture was "Consulted" for advice on the problems of the day and received "Reports" on events. All accomplishments, whether in production of military affairs, scientific invention, sport, medicine, heroic actions or any other human activity were ascribed to the Thoughts of Mao. Everyone carried the Little Red Book, memorized it, quoted from it, and cited it in unison in groups on many occasions. Physically Mao had proved a superman. On July 16, 1966, to counter rumour about a stroke and physical decline, Mao publicly demonstrated his firmness by

taking a swim in the Yangtse River. Mao's claim to infallibility was rediculed and challenged, and the battle was joined over what became the chief "Cultural" issue in the so-called Cultural Revolution-the demination of the media, literature, the arts and the theatre by "Maoism."

In a series of articles in a Peking party journal, under the title of "Three Family Village Record," attacked Mao's claim to omniscience. Mao's ideological as well as his political position was thus at stake.

To counter this challenge to his authority, Mao confronted the party leaders at a Central Committee Work Meeting in September 1965 with the demand that "Capitalist and reactionary" thought should be criticized and that this criticism must apply to Wu Han. After what is believed to have been a stormy discussion in which Mao was defeated Mao apparently left Peking, retreating to Shanghai and nearby Hangcong. Here he used two writers, to attack his "enemies".

Chang Chun - Chiao and Yao wen - yuan, both products of the Shanghai literary world and of proven flexibility had been used before to denounce fellow writers who were in conflict with the prevailing line. An article written by Yao Wen - yuan under Mao's supervision, published by Chang Chun-Chiao in the Shanghai Wen Hui Pao, condemned the play by Wu Han because of its implicit attack against Mao. This article was Mao's opening move in the rapidly developing conflict. To deflect Mao's thunder, a five - man cultural Revolution Group under the party secretary and the Chairman of Peking's Municipal Council, P'eng Chen, issued a circular draft on February 22, 1966, describing the idoelogical conflict as a "non - antagonistic", theoretical and academic debate in which historical interpretation could differ. In answer, Mao Tse - tung issued on May 16, 1966, a circular letter repudiating Peng Chen, abolishing and replacing the five - man Cultural Revolution Group, and describing the issue as a "battle" between

the two lines-- the proletarian and bourgeois-- placing the opposing writers and their party sponsors in the "enemy" camp. The May 16 circular was later regarded by Maoists as the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

The conflict soon moved into the educational institutions and the offices of the news media. On June 1st Mao ordered a large wall poster (in Chinese, Ta Tzupao) to be displayed in Peking, attacking his opposition. The wall posters, of which this was the first, were among the main instruments used by both sides in the Cultural Revolution. During the summer of 1966 party - sponsored "work teams" in the colleges and Schools were attacked and replaced by Maoist student groups, organized by young PLA men who had been enrolled recently in the educational institutions. Concurrently, one after the other, the newspapers were taken over by Maoist.

In August 1966 Mao called a meeting of the 11th Plenum, Central Committee, at Peking, after the city had been secured by troops of Lin Piao, thus enabling Mao to return. Fewer than half the members and alternate members of the Central Committee were able to attend, while the meeting was packed with Mao's young supporters. After several. days of apparent sharp discussion, a sixteen - point decision was ratified on August 8 providing the program for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution-- now formally initiated.

The Red Guards

The shock troops of the Cultural Revolution were the student groups from the colleges and high schools formed during the summer and fall of 1966 and known as the Red Guards. The Red Guards were formed out of the pro - Mao work - teams. In them, Mao had found a fanatical presonal following, a non - party force he could use to attack the party, something no Communist leader had done before. It was here that Mao's strategy to go directly to "the masses could be

applied with the support of the PLA. The element picked for this purpose was chiefly disaffected high school and college youth, the malcontents of the schools. Official pressure on schools to admit students from special social backgrounds - from worker and peasant families and from families of civil war veterans - had resulted in the acceptance of many ill prepared and poorly qualified young people. These students feared examinations, hated their teachers, and were grimly jealous of their socially and intellectually more favoured classmates. The pro - Maoist Red Guards were therefore composed mainly of students whose social background as from families of workers, peasants, revolutionary cadres, PLA and revolutionary martyrs. These radicals were bitterly opposed to Red Guard groups formed by students from other social backgrounds, especially those from the families of the Communist elite, who would be inclined to defend their parents against Maoist attack. The Maoist left attacked students from different social origins.

On June 2, 1966, admission to higher schools for six months was suspended and further proletarinization of education was promised. In the fall of 1966 the schools and universities remained closed and students were permitted to vent their discontent and political fanaticism in attacks against the establishment. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, had become outspoken through the media of big posters and in debates, they argued things out, exposed and criticized thoroughly, and launched resolute attacks on the open and bidden representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Their shortcomings were to be excused, for they were "the main current in the Great proletarian Cultural Revolution." No measures could be taken against them because of anything they did for the movement and Reforms promised them with shorter courses, simplified teaching material, and practical experience interspersed with their courses Response of the students fulfilled revolutionary expectations.

Between August and October '66 eleven million Red Guards, some from Peking, most from the provinces, were brought with military logistical support to the great square (**Tienanmen**) in Peking. There they were to hail their leader. Mao, celebrated as

the "revolutionary little generals," they were permitted to travel the length of the country to "exchange experiences", and were instructed to attack the "four olds"--old customs, old habits, old thoughts, and old culture. They were also to attack the "five black elements"--landlords rich peasants, counter revolutionaries, rightists, and bad elements. They were to "pick up one by one the bloodsucking worms, the enemies of the people and change the whole aspect of our society. "Rampaging in the cities, they changed street signs, broke into houses to loot, smashed furniture and belongings, and assailed and maltreated passers-by in the street who attracted their hostility by dress or demeanor. Then, in special groups, they were sent out to the provinces to attack and destroy the provincial and local party and government administration. This they did with great brutality. When local groups, formed by local party leaders, defended their patrons, the PLA was told to "support the left"--the Red Guards. When local garrison forces tended to stand behind the local leaders under attack, central army and air force units were moved in by Lin piao to back the revolutionary forces, Lin piao provided the indoctrination, the logistics, and the power leverage for these young culture heroes.

The Red Guards, however, paid homage not to Lin piao but to the leftist leaders of the Cultural Revolution, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-Chiao, and Yao Wen-Yuan, who became key members of the Cultural Revolution Group of the party's Central Committee. Chiang Ching also became adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group of the PLA. Together with such radical left-wingers as Wang Li, Kuan Feng, and Chi Pen-Yu, Chiang Ching became the patroness of the Red Guards and other Young revolutionaries, she became well known for the production of revolutionary melodramas, replacing traditional opera.

The attack on the pary's top echelo had been camouflaged initially. What was meant by "capitalist roaders" or who were the "power holders" announced as the target of the attack was unknown. By November it became clear that Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping were the main culprits.

This phase of the attack had been opened by Mao's speech of October 26, 1966 in which he gloated over his enemies and their fears and boasted about his initiatives in starting the Cultural Revolution, which his enemies regarded as a "great elamity". After seventeen years of the Socialist revolution, one blow by him had placed his enemies in a "fine mess" and put things on the right track. In a November 3 speech, Lin Piao declared that everyone should criticize the party and government at all levels. On November 18 a meeting was held in the Great Hall of the People at which Chiang Ching criticized the party leadership and declared one should not consider "minority" or "majority" attitudes but only who stood by "the correct line of Chairman Mao". On December 4 P'ang Chen was arrested and Liu Shao-chi'i and Teng Hsiao-ping were attacked in wall posters. On December 13, an editorial in Red Flag attacked the "capitalist roaders" in the party. On December 16 and 17, secret meetings were held in which Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, K'ang Sheng, and Chiang Ching participated. Finally on December 26, a wall poster published Lieu Shao-Chi's self-criticism, allegedly expressed some time in October. Liu admitted after listing his mistakes that he must learn from the Thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The Cultural Revolution moved on into political and economic structures at the local level. When the Red Guards moved into the factories and communes, they had in many cases found a hot reception. The method chosen to break down the resistance of the party-backed workers and peasants against the leftist take-over appears to have been a combination of infiltration and military force. As had been the practice in the schools, the lowest element of the workers and peasants, those who had complaints against management, were drawn to the Maoise side. Any conflict between management and workers was turned into a class struggle, workers were not to be punished for attacking managers who had taken the "capitalist road"; the managers were told that they were not permitted to fire workers, dock wages, or revoke contracts with regular or temporary employees.

Opportunism, encouraged by the chance of taking over power at the expense of the current management, may be the explanation of the sudden appearance of "revolutionary rebel groups" who combatted the "evil capitalist" influence in defence of the Cultural Revolution. All this envisaged large-scale preparatory work by the PLA.

The organisation of the new "revolutionary rebel" groups, however, was by no means a clear-cut affair. To distinguish politically between these "revolutionary rebel groups" was all the more difficult since political claims were often only a thin disguise for vested interests. Basically, the distinction was between an "in" group that defended its hold on power, and an "out" group hoping to move "in." These groups were later most frequently called "The Conservatives" and "The Leftists". In any case it was clear that the Red Guards could not achieve a Maoist takeover, and the "revolutionary rebels" were to be Mao's new left force. To replace them and to give new direction and cohesion to the PLA was apparently the purpose in organizing the "revolutionary rebels."

"Seize Power"

On December 13, 1966, a People's Daily and Red Flag editorial declared that the "broad masses of revolutionary workers" had joined the movement. When the call to seize power came, Shanghai and the revolutionary rebels were cited as the best model. On January 9, 1967, the call went out to all revolutionaries to "seize power," a call repeated by radio and newspapers all over the country.

The Red Guards and the revolutionary rebels needed, however, the backing of superior force, not only to overcome local resistance at all levels but also to establish a new power structure. This force was to be provided by the PLA.

On January 23, 1967, Maoist headquarters called on the PLA to give active support to the revolutionary masses of the left. This directive explicitly ordered the army to give

active support when "genuine proletarian Lefitists ask the army for help" in their struggle to seize power. The army was no longer to be "an air raid shelter for the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road and diehards who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line." The PLA had, of course, been behind the organization and transportation of the Red Guards but had, in the majority of case, supported a "conservative element in the provincial takeover. No longer permitted to remain in the background, or to remain neutral, the PLA moved over on the side of the left without any plan preparation. Leadership purges were undertaken in the PLA to weaken any opposition in it to these trends. Any army involved in a major political battle would scarcely be capable of defending the country against outside attack. Internally the new role in the political battle would provide a test of loyalty for the PLA, a test crucial not only for the cultural revolution but also for the survival of Mao's regime.

On January 28, only five days after the PLA was called in to "support the left," a new directive and another order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee were issued simultaneously circumscribing and limiting PLA action both geographically and organizationally. The new directive proclaimed that action should be postponed "the great cultural revolution in military regions should be carried out stage by stage and group to group according to the instructions of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao. "Action should be postponed" in the military regions on the first line of defence against imperialism and revisionism **Nanking, Canton,** and **Sinkiang** and the **Wuhan Military** Region."

The pretext for this postponement was national defence, and it may be well have been important to prevent political turmoil in areas militarily so sensitive. But these were also the areas in which the Communist sweep had been most rapid

and least thorough during the time of the takeover in 1949. These military regions included about half the Chinese provinces and half the number of PLA units. The reason for excluding this area temporarily from military takeover may be seen in the leader's uncertainty regarding the loyalty of the military forces and the risk of a failure in this sensitive area.

Even in the heartland, PLA preparation for the support of the power seizure by the Maoists had to be handled with great caution. To safeguard military order in those areas where the cultural revolution was to be executed through the PLA, vital distinction was drawn between military administrative organs and the troops. The administrative organs of the PLA were to accomplish their own carefully timed and prescribed revolutionary changes; Red Guards were not to interfere in army matters. The troops were not to be subjected to any revolutionary struggles but were only to receive "education" in the goals of the Cultural Revolution; they were to remain a disciplined force to back up the effort of the Maoist left.

In all this Mao had to provide some new institutional framework which he could control. The slogan of leading "the masses" had to be given some form, especially since most of his "little revolutionary generals," the Red Guards did not necessarily belong to the party. The answer to the problem of creating a non - party revolutionary organization responsive to himself was seen by Mao in a "mass" structure which he claimed to model after the Paris Commune of 1871, which Karl Marx himself had once regarded as a proletarian mass organization. Mao, however, quietly abandoned Lenin's party concept. The Commune was an example of working class democracy in action. The sixteen point decision of the cultural revolution of August 1966, suggested the Paris commune model in which representatives could be elected and recalled by the proletariat. The party

would be replaced. Though Chinese Communes were tried, yet they did not survive. Shanghai illustrated the predicament. The Maoists had obviously over-reached themselves. Whether a system based on a mass movement could be established by a minority of the so-called masses seems debatable. More questionable still was the assumption that the officers of the PLA who had been instrumental in establishing the new revolutionary authority and who had now become a dominant force could be expected to abandon their newly gained role in favour of a hazy concept of authority that promised nothing substantial. The role of the military was all the more crucial since they organised the so-called "revolutionary rebel" organizations. These teams, not the Red Guards, seized the power in rural and urban communities, in industry and agriculture, and eventually in the educational institutions.

The Revolutionary Committees

The result of the failure of this experiment was a compromise in which each factions was to participate. The new structure was to consist of Revolutionary Committees formed by three elements, the so-called "three in one combination" the military as the power leverage, the "Revolutionary" cadres to provide the professional expertise, and the Maoist revolutionaries-the Red Guards-to provide the political left ingredient. The shift to the Revolutionary Committees was therefore of advantage not only to the military but also to the cadres and the experts. In any cost-benefit analysis Mao had gained in this transmatic experience in Chinese history. Since his death in 1976, and the arrest of the extremists, a moderate thermidor had set in.

China and the World

In April 1970 Chou-En-lai moved to counter the danger of Soviet encirclement by establishing good-relations with North Korea and reasserting China's guardian role over the "peoples of Indo-China". Chou-En-lai's visit to Pyongyang was widely heralded in China and North Korea as a re-establishment of the

comradeship in arms of the Korean War. The tenor of the public speeches and the joint statement was directed against U.S. imperialism and its "lackeys" in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Indo-China, and Israel. The Soviet Union was not mentioned. The visit was followed in time by lengthy visits of a chinese military delegation under Chief of Staff Huang Yung-sheng, reciprocated by an equally extended visit of the North Korean military chiefs to Peking and industrial sections of China. An agreement on military and economic support was concluded in October 1970.

In Indo-China Chinese support of Hanoi's aggression against South Vietnam consisted chiefly of military small arms and other equipment, advisers, economic aid, and labor forces. No military "volunteer" units as, in Korea, entered the conflict. In fact, Lin Piao's article of 1965 in Peking Review, mentioned before, seemed to preclude such action. Yet Chinese training of insurgents for Thailand and Burma continued and when the Cambodian leader Shihanouk abandoned his neutralist policy and was overthrown, he found refuge and full support in Peking. The Chinese commitment to the support of the Indo-Chinese was renewed at a meeting headed by Chou-En-lai in April 1970 he same month that the close relationship with North Korea was re-established. The statement emerging from this meeting contained the same phraseology attacking U.S. imperialism in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Indo-China, and Israel as was used in Pyongyang. On both occasions, China promised to be "the reliable rear area" for the countries "wars of national liberation". Beyond this policy of securing her flanks, Peking resumed a new initiative towards the countries of "Third World" and of Europe, developing the theory of "imperialism" and "social imperialism"- Peking did not abandon the strategy of supporting revolutionary wars but had to relate her efforts to the new conditions. Neverthless Chinese interests clashed with Vietnam as an independent country later in 1973.

The new world position of China, the Soviet containment policies, and the increase in state to state relations all called for more caution in supplying insurgencies against friendly governments. But Peking continued to give various sorts of support for guerilla movements in Malayasia, Singapore, Burma and Thailand, and in the NEFA Radio stations operating from Chinese soil kept in close touch with each of the pro-Peking Communist parties in these countries. "The Voice of the people of Burma" and "The Voice of the Malaya Revolution" was located in Hunan province. In addition, the North China News Agency frequently broadcasted propaganda and directives to insurgents and guerrilla training, forces, in various countries. Communist China provided guerilla training, officers and equipment to many of these revolutionary movements. In Burma, China supported the so-called "White-Flag" insurgents, for whom it provided support and sanctuaries as well as equipment and training. At the very moment of the visit to Peking of General Ne Win, the head of the Burma government, the Peking Review published a message from the Burma Communist party promising defeat of the "Fascist" Ne Win regime and the seizure of power by armed force. In Malayasia, the Chinese Communists promised to follow Marxism - Leninism and Mao Tse-tung in their insurgency at the very time when Peking concluded an agreement with the Malayasian government for increased economic exchange. While Peking recognized the establishment of official relations with Malayasia, its propoganda broadcasts had not recognized the establishment of the Malayasian Union and continued to refer to "Malaya". In Thailand, the Chinese increased insurgency training among the minority tribes as well as among the Thai in the mountainous areas of the North. In the Philippines, the Chinese propaganda backed the Maoist Philippine Communist party and supported the Muslim rebellion in Mindanao.

Peking recognized the Palestine Liberation Front, supported its propaganda, trained its cadres, and provided financial assistance. In Africa, however, the Chinese reduced their support of military insurgencies and limited themselves to selective

backing of revolutionary movements, for example, in Portuguese territory, Rhodesia, and South and Southwest Africa. They continued to invest heavily in Tanzania. In Latin America, China's policy also limited itself to selected support of armed struggle. The parliamentary victory by Salvador Allende in Chile was First discounted by Peking but when accepted in shift of policy that led to the Chinese aid as well as propaganda support of Allende's government.

In all these countries, Peking was in competition with Moscow. Peking aspirations to leadership in this intermediate world with which diplomatic relations were being established was obviously designed not only to regain an important world position but also to strengthen her posture vis-a-vis the Soviet Threat. The admission of the People's Republic of China to the U.N. in October 1971 was the high point of success of this policy. Hand in hand with it went the major policy shift towards "normalization of relations" with the U.S. Reassurance about the enhanced international position and the, at least partial, defection of threats provided the conditions under which the "power struggle" in Peking was not a concern of the past. The part of a continuam from 1950 to 1960 and upto the 70s in China's relationship with the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. China's military and nuclear power, however remain an important factor in her foreign policy. Taiwan is no longer a priority. The Chinese model of a self-reliant country has never ceased to be attractive to the Third world. After a centuary long quest China has found herself and the evidence is in her diplomatic relatives with 114 nations China seems close to achieving its goal of a powerful modern socialist State".

The big transformation was in China's relationship to US consequent to Nixon's visit in 1972. In 1976 China & India restored diplomatic relations.

Chapter XXIX

Contemporary India

Lal Bahadur Shastri stepped in as India's Prime Minister in 1964 without any radical image, though during his short tenure of office, he demonstrated his centrist bias. Shastri had enabled India to win back her selfrespect, she had lost in 1962, in the Indo-Pak war of 1965. Raising the slogan of Jai Jawan! Jai Kisan! he inspired the people of India and led them to victory in that war. The Anti-Hindi agitation of January-February 1965, led to the promise of amendment to the Official Languages Act of 1963. Prejudice, regional and religious would have been far from helpful, and Shastri was exceptionally free from it. At the great hour of his diplomatic triumph he died in January, 1966 at Taskhent. Life, however continued as always to the Indian people.

In the 1961 census India's population has been assessed 5.48 million, the second largest among all the countries of the world. The rapid drop in mortality, mainly explains the increase. Famines and epidemics on a large scale are only historical memories. However with only 2.4 percent area of the world large populations create more problems than solve. A lesson that India is learning.

The re-shaping of the Indian village has been a continuous and on-going process, through the introduction of economic and political changes. Land reforms and legislative measures in regard to Urban land have set the pace in this direction. The Community development programmes potential to serve the village community still remains. In the Panchayat Raj the people have discovered their own strength in the ballot box. The Green Revolution has indeed changed the landscape though inputs like fertilizer, water and electricity

are not equal to the demand. Social structures have not yet changed radically, though in the cities some flexibility seems evident. Industrial growth and educational expansion have brought about national integration than mere social legislation.

The Constitution of India provides for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, who form 22 percent of the total population of India. Quotas in the representation in Parliament and State Legilatures, government services, scholarships and employment etc, have helped to certain extent. The untouchability (offences) Act of 1955, is an index of law as a measure of social reform. Social backwardness and economic dependence have made untouchability difficult to credicate. The problem persists, so does the challenge!

In a traditional patriardial society Indian women have been under - estimated, under - perform and under - achieve. The incidence of Dowry inspite of the Dowri Prohibition Act has not changed realities (1961) chained by customs and raditional bias, Indian women do not get the full benefit of egislation. Violation of her integrity scarcely get prosecuted. Education holds the key to change, but the initative must come from the women themselves.

Rediscovery of the Directive Principles of State policy has emphasised certain programmes such as prohibition as a National goal. It would require more than mere logic but adequate machinery to translate into an Indian reality. Gujerat and Tamilnadu have pioneered with prohibition. The State and people must make legislations, come alive and effective. The Nationalisation of Banks in 1969 did promise rural credit on a large scale, and incentive to common man. The record demonstrates the need for a greater awarenees of the role of Banks in developing the people in a developing society.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi who succeeded Shastri introduced measures like Bank Nationalisation and withdrawal of Privy Purses, which signalled divisions not only in the party but also in the country. As India moved into the early 1970, Mrs. Indira Gandhi proclaimed National Emergency on June 26, 1975. During these years India had become a different country and MISA was extended into 1976. In the name of hastening socio-economic revolution the 44th amendment was introduced in the Lok-Sabha in Oct. 1976. Samachar, a Government sponsored news Agency was formed in February, 1976. The 20 point programme was launched as a blue-print of social progress, while the Naxalites provided another violent alternative!

In March 1977, Mrs. Gandhi sought the people's verdict in the light of the record of the 20 months old emergency. After six weeks of hectic electioneering, the Congrees which had ruled India for thirty years lost is majority. Elections to the parliament proved an adult-night school in politics and education both to their electors and their candidates. With an electorate of 320 million adults spread over 31 states, the election was held according to procedures of the Representation of Peoples Act, by an independent statutorily established authority, the Election Commission. In spite of minor lapses and malpractices the electorate exercised their option without fear or favour. A clear verdict was given to the Janatha Party, ushering the possibilities of a peaceful revolution. It has been the best of times and the worst of times, a season of great hope and despair, but in all this India has gradually emerged from confusion of growing-up State.

Chapter-XXX

Contemporary Arts and Science

Modern research in science and technology has shown that much of what we know as the basics of scientific knowledge has been handed down to us from ancient India. Mathematics Astronomy and Ayurvedic medical science had made remarkable progress during this period. However this trend suffered a setback during the medieval period mainly because of numerous external invasions and internal turmoils. The Muslim conquests strengthened contacts between India, Arabia and Central Asia. Thus a corridor was established between the orient and the accident and Indian ideas and conceptions migrated to Europe.

The beginning of the Modern age saw India drawing closer to western science and thought. Consequently there emerged several Indian scientists and technologists who made significant contributions, and at the same time gave the necessary impetus to the growth of science and technology in India.

Notable among some of the Indian scientists who have made significant contributions to the field of science and technology was Jagdish Chandra Bose who was born in Mymensingh (Now in Bangladesh) in 1858. After pursuing his education at Calcutta and then Cambridge Bose became a Professor at Presidency College, Calcutta. The area of his interest was radio communication, but subsequently he turned to the study of Botany. He experimented on plants and their stimuli to light, sound and electricity and came to the conclusion that plants like animals, adjusted to change through 'Inherited memory of the past.' In 1917 he founded the Bose research Institute at Calcutta.

Another brilliant Indian was S. Ramanujam (1887-1920) who was known for his mastery of Mathematics at a very early age, in the Town High School, Kumbakonam. Coming to Madras to pursue a college career, Ramanujam got himself a job as a clerk in the Madras Port Trust. However his extraordinary flair for mathematics was noticed by his friends and well wishers and in 1914 he got the oppurtunity to study at Cambridge, where he rose from eminence to eminence as a very great mathematician and became a fellow of the Royal

Society at the very young age of 31. He returned to India in 1919 ill with Tuserculosis and passed away in 1920. The tragedy of Ramanujam was not that he died young but that during his five unfortunate creative years, his genius was misdirected, side tracked and to a certain extent distorted.

Quite in contrast with the tragic life of Ramanujam was that of Chandrashekara Venkataraman. After studying physics at Presidency College, Madras and pursuing his research at Calcutta, Cambridge and California Institute of Technology, Raman returned to join the Indian Institute of Science as its Director and Head of the Department of Physics. He was instrumental in setting up a new school of Physics at Bangalore. The brilliant Raman had published his first paper in 1906 while still a student at Presidency College. His fame rests on the discovery of the 'Raman Effect' in 1928. It was regarded as a major breakthrough in the understanding of molecular structure. Raman was awarded the nobel prize for Physics in 1930.

The nuclear scientist Homi Jehangir Bhabha (1909-1966) falls into the Post - Independence programme of Indian science and technology. He too was a product of Cambridge having joined in 1927. In addition to great gifts in science, technology. scientific policy making and administration he also possessed sensitive and trained artistic gifts of the highest order, especially painting pencil portraits and music. He grew up in a cultured and wealthy environment where education, art, science, technology and heavy industry were intermingled. Then he spent thirteen of the most impressionable years of his youth in the west from the age of 17 to 29 during which period his exceptional scientific ability enabled him to work or associate with some of the greatest physicists of the time and win a place among them. The TaTa Institute of Fundamental Research was a supreme movement to Bhabha's artistic vision. Bhabha took a prominent part in the early history of the development of quantum electrodynamics and worked with Niels Bohr on the studies that led the discovery of the Quantum theory. He served as the Director of the Tata Institute of fundamental Research. Chairman of the atomic Energy Commission and in 1955 as chairman of the UN conference on the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy.

The tradition of Painting in India dates back to the miniature painting of the 10th century AD and the mural tradition which had begun earlier. Modern painting in India had, to begin with, nothing to do with the two traditions. The modern research for artistic identity in India began about 70 years ago with the Neo - Bengali school Indian painters who had confined themselves to religion and mythology turned to earthy subjects of a more ammediate experience. Even Raja Ravi Varma hailed as the first major Modern Painter in the country turned to poverty and suffering besides the mythological pictures for which he was better known. Following the example of the Bombay School many painters opted for the abstract. M. F. Hussain is one of the most successful painters of this school. Even as he was blazing a new trail, K. C. S. Paniker of Madras had begun breaking fresh ground. Paniker took his clue from Jamini Roy of Bengal. It was the results realised in the work of Paniker himself and in those of the others who had worked with him, principally Santhanaraj, Redappa Naidu, Ramanujam and Vasudev that cleared the crisis and brought in a new expectation in Modern Indian painting.

The western influence helped in the growth of languages and literature. There was a remarkable development in prose writing. Many western men of letters now came to be studied by the indians. The Irishman George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) was one whose domestic background provided a perfect training ground for that anarchic self-determination, which became characteristic of him. His real education was derived partly from his voluntary reading, and partly from the love of music that he inherited from his mother. In 1876, he moved over to London from Dublin. It was there that Shaw first developed his characteristic prose style. Later he turned to dramatic criticism which led to the emergence of a new school of thought in the British theatre. The aim of Shaw was to introduce into the drama an advanced contemporary criticism of social life. Shaw joined the Fabian society and worked devotedly for Socialism. Most of Shaw's plays drew public attention to unattractive aspects of British Social life. Some of his early plays, 'Widower's Houses' 'The Philanderer, and Mrs. Warren's Profession' came under the title of unpleasant plays. It was followed by the pleasant plays; 'Arms and the Man' 'Candida; and 'You never can

Tell'. One of the most masterly of Shah's plays was 'Ceasar and Cleopatra'. Two of his most successful plays of the middle stage of Shaw's dramatic career were 'Androcles and the Lion' and 'Pygmalion' Two plays of Shaw's later career were 'Heartbreak House' and 'Saint Joan'. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1934. When the Labour Party came to power he was offered a peerage and the Order of Merit, but he declined both. He died in 1950 at the age of 94.

In a different vein was the American writer Earnest Hemingway (1898-1961) a novelist and short story writer. During the first World War he served with the Italians and was severely wounded. "A Farewell to Arms" one of his best war books was based on his experiences in Italy. In 1926 he published a successful novel, 'The Sun also Rises'. It was followed by 'Death in the Afternoon' and 'Green Hills of Africa! In these works he portrays the psychology of cruelty and death as shown in bullfighting and big game hunting. In 1936, he went to Spain as a special correspondent in the civil war and got the material for his famous novel "For whom the Bell Tolls". His best work undoubtedly is "The old man and the Sea", which won the Nobel Prize for literature for 'forceful and style making mastery of the art of modern narration'. Most of his characters are cynical and disillusioned and waste their time drinking, fishing, fighting and running after women. His style is very simple and his powers of narration are best seen in his short stories. In 1961, he took his own life.

Boris Pasternak belongs to a different category as compared to Shaw and Hemingway. He was born in Russia in 1890 of a painter father and a musician mother. His first two volumes of poems were published in 1917 and 1922 establishing him as one of the major poets of his age. The establishment of a communist state under Stalin saw the curtailment of writing. Pasternak abandoned creative writing and chose to translate from foreign classics namely Shakespeare. He is however known for his prose work, 'Dr Zhivago', which well bears comparison with the greatest works of prose fiction of the last 15 years. It was, however, banned. In the Indian prose context we can view two writers, one writing in his mother tongue and the other in the English language. Literary circles and friends affectionately called him "Prem Chand". But his original name was Dhanpat Rai. He was born in 1880, After a difficult childhood, he got a job as an assistant teacher in a local school in 1899. His weakness in mathematics kept him from getting a degree and it was only in 1919 that he

passed his B.A., after mathematics was made an optional subject for the intermediate examination. From an early age he had exhibited a feeling for human weakness and social evils. He began writing his stories in 1907 and used different styles to suit different moods and situations. His early style was of a meandering nature but later he went to the heart of the matter using an economical, direct and precise language. His 300 stories and dozen novels survive because they capture accurately the India of the 1930s. The conflict in Premchand was between Realism and Idealism. He depicted objective reality truly and faithfully but the conclusions he drew were idealistic. Hindu readers gave him the honorary title of "King of Novelists". His works have been translated into many Indian langages and also into English, Japanese and Russian.

R. K. Narayan, who was born in 1906, belongs to the Indo-Anglian School and though a Tamilian by birth writes in English. After graduating in 1930 from Maharaj's college, Mysore, he took to writing and his first novel appeared in 1935 and was hailed by a person no less than Graham Greene. Narayan's style is the use of pure and simple English. He is the author of a fairly substantial body of fiction, 11 novels and collection of stories all of them remarkable even in the quality of their achievement. His novels are remarkable for the subtility and conviction with which family relationships are treated. It is against the presence of the town firmly and freshly evoked and amidst a net of family relationships that Narayan's heroes engage in the characteristic struggles. What is so attractive about his novels are the charm and the authencity of its Indian colouring. Some of his famous works are 'Mr. Sampath' 'The English Teacher', 'Waiting for the Mahatma' 'The Financial Expert' and The 'Guide'. The last named won the Sahitya award in 1960.

In the last forty years there has been an awareness of the progress made in various spheres of life. Science, Technology, Art, Literature, Music etc., have all made their contributions to the path for peace. No one can deny the emergence of the atomic age upon the world. India is not lagging behind. Its scientists and men of letters have made their contributions and Modern India can with pride look back over her achievements and at the same time look ahead expectantly to the Future.

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